

Youth as Peace Builders

A Comparative Study of Educational Response in Post-Conflict Burundi

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Abstract

The predominant image on youth is negative, meaning that they are often seen as actors for violence. Much research has tended to focus on the role of youth in violence promotion. Youth are often neglected in post-conflict reconstruction activities since it is not clear who they are. Definitions of youth are context dependent. The trend in research is increasingly on the need to target youth since their capacities can easily be turned to advantage the society instead. Since youth are seen as dynamic and open, they have potential to have a role both in violence promotion and in peace building. If they are provided with opportunities to socio-economic development, the literature argues that they can transform their roles and become actors in peace building.

The field research took place in Burundi in October 2011. The country has gone through a twelve yearlong civil war that ended in 2005. Today's youth grew up during the war. Many of them missed out on education because they had to flee their homes. As a result of missed opportunities and traumatic experiences, there are many youth who struggle to reintegrate into communities and to socio-economic development. A consequence is that the transition to adulthood is put on hold and they stay longer in the youth-hood stage. Therefore, this study focuses on older youth.

The purpose of this study was twofold. First, it sought to find out what the potential is for youth to act as peace builders in post-conflict Burundi. Secondly, and mainly, this study aimed to discover the importance of education in shaping young peace builders. Three groups of youth with different educational backgrounds were compared in order to find out if and how education makes a difference. The data was collected through qualitative interviews so that the perceptions of youth were emphasized, which is an important element in peace building.

This study concludes that the potential of youth as peace builders is present in post-conflict Burundi. However, the roles of youth are dependent upon access to education. Different types and levels of education shape different actors in peace building depending on how the youth benefit from the education that is provided to them.

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List of Acronyms

AfDB	African Development Bank
BPE	Bureau de la Planification the l'Education
EFA	Education for all
GNP	Gross national product
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	Internally displaced person
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Networks
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
PBC	Peacebuilding Commission
PSDEF	Le Plan Sectoriel de Développement de l'Education et de la Formation
SFCG	Search for Common Ground
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
YEP	Youth Education Pack

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1 Introduction

The topic for this research is based on the interrelationship between three components: youth, education and peace. These components will be investigated together by looking at education as a peace building force that shapes the roles of youth in a post-conflict society. Separately, there is an increasing body of literature on the roles of youth in the after-math of war and on peace building education. However, there is not much research done on the role that education has in shaping the roles of youth.

Topic

The EFA Global Monitoring Report put peace building education on the international agenda in 2011 (UNESCO, 2011). Due to conflict, war and displacement, many children and youth miss out on education. Peace building education should always be considered, especially in the aftermath of war. A post-conflict setting provides an opportunity for structures to be changed. In order to avoid the mistakes committed in the past, a transformation of the education system provides children and youth with the necessary skills to design a new future. The education system in itself can be a force of fuelling a conflict. For instance, it can be a tool for discrimination by the political elite. Much of the literature focuses on the two faces of education: education for peace or education for conflict (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Dupuy, 2008 & 2009). It is important to seek understanding of the various aspects of education and find out whether they are fuelling conflict or building peace. Since definitions of peace building education vary over time and is dependent upon the culture-specific context, it is important to constantly work towards peace building through education.

It is challenging to seek a definition on youth. As with peace building education, the period of youth-hood is dependent upon context. Western actors normally use an age range definition, while African societies often define youth out of socio-cultural criteria, such as marriage and getting responsibilities. In addition, the transition to adulthood is often delayed. For instance, after a war has ended, there would be a higher number of people who could be characterized as youth since they have not gone through the necessary transitions in order to become adults (Kemper, 2005; Smith & Ellison, 2012). Youth have to a large degree been neglected in post-conflict reconstruction programs since it is not entirely clear who they are. More research is

needed on youth in post-conflict situations in order to provide a database of the various needs of youth in different contexts and phases.

For the past few years, there has been a growing body of literature on the roles of youth in war-to-peace transitions, although, it still remains limited. Referring to children as victims and youth as threats have been the predominant images. Traditionally, research has been conducted on young men and violence. The multiple theories and conceptualizations on young men and violence demonstrate this, such as the youth bulge theory, the youth crisis, the greed model and the grievance model. However, during the past few years, researchers have started to look at young people's potential as actors for peace since they have some specific qualities that are considered to be advantageous for peace building. For instance, they are seen as open, dynamic and creative.

The interrelationship between youth, education and peace building is a topic that has been neglected in the literature. Since the school can be regarded as the most important social institution in the lives of youth, there is a need to consider how youth are influenced by schooling, or the lack of it. This is especially the case in a post-conflict environment since other social institutions, such as the family, could be destroyed. Education can play a decisive role in shaping children and youth, particularly in the aftermath of war. The role of education depends on the accessibility to quality schooling at various levels.

Purpose of research

This study delves deeper into the roles of youth in the post-conflict reconstruction phase. Particularly, it examines youth's potential as peace builders in relation to the type and level of education they have received. The idea is to determine what role education could have in building peace from below. Since the transition of adulthood is delayed in the Burundian society due to war and displacement, older youth, aged 18 to 30, are the target group for this research.

In addition to the roles of youth as actors for peace, this study will look at other roles that might emerge in the study. Since youth-hood is described as a period of insecurity and that youth, therefore, are easy targets to external influence, it is essential to find out what influences these youth. Based on how the youth are affected by others, they will promote

certain values to their environments. It is also crucial to look at the degree to which the youth affect the people around them and what they promote.

Research questions

The research questions are based on the purpose of research. The first research question seeks answers to the current possibilities for peace building from below, by youth, in post-conflict Burundi.

- What is the potential of youth as peace builders?

The first research question will take into account the perceptions of youth to find out how they perceive the roles of youth and the roles of peace builders. Their perceptions will provide a setting in order to answer the second research question. The second research question is the main research question as it involves all elements of the purpose of this study:

- **To what degree does education contribute in shaping young actors for peace?**

The answers to this question will also be based on the perceptions of youth. Three groups of youth will be compared in order to find out to what degree education is important in shaping young actors for peace. These groups consist of youth with different educational backgrounds.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is structured in seven chapters. Chapter 2 provides a background chapter on the context of research, which is post-conflict Burundi. It provides an elaboration on relevant aspects to the research purpose since the context is important to the topic of youth and peace building. These aspects include the history of violence, current conflict and tensions, and education in Burundi. There is an emphasis on conflict and violence since peace building requires understanding and replacing war structures.

The methodology is presented in chapter 3. This chapter elaborates on the use of qualitative research method from the beginning to the end of the research project, including the use of interviews as a method for data collection. Throughout the methodology chapter, the limitations encountered in this research project are referred to.

Chapter 4 reviews the existing literature on the topic. This chapter gives a more thorough discussion on the various concepts related the topic than the one presented in the introduction above. It includes definitions on youth, the various roles of youth, peace and peace building, and peace building education. This chapter provides a point of departure for the conceptual framework.

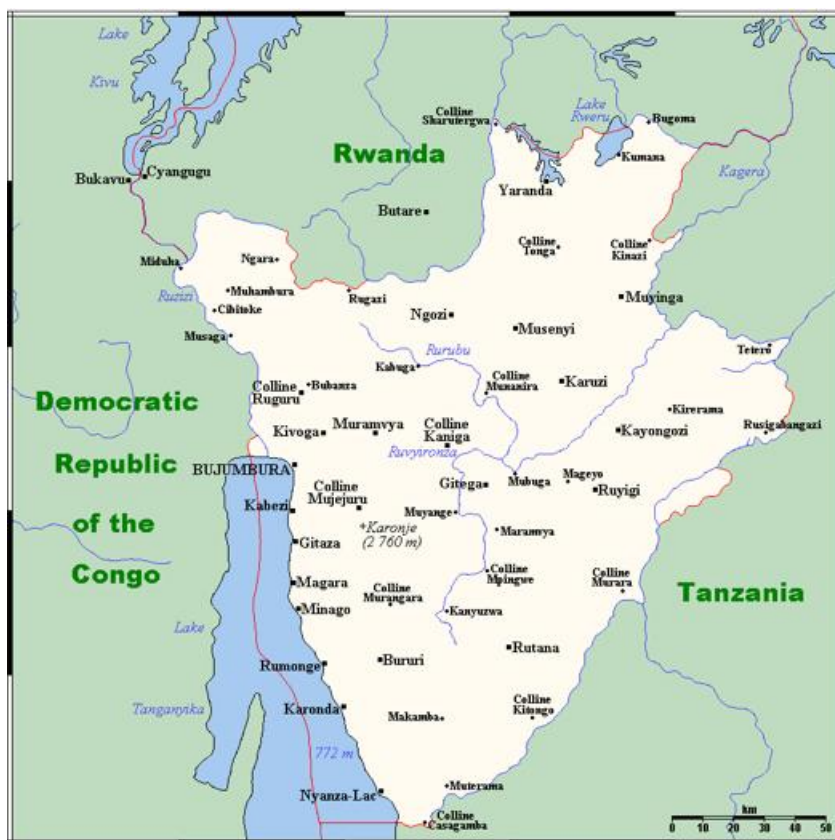
Chapter 5 presents the conceptual framework that is based on the relations between different concepts, definitions and assumptions from the literature review that are relevant to the research questions.

The findings from the field research is presented in chapter 6 as ‘voices of Burundian youth’ since the data collected are based solely on interviews with youth. It includes the emerging themes from the interviews divided on the following six sub-topics: peace, threats to peace, youth, peace promoters, inclusion to education, and the importance of education.

Finally, chapter 7 comprises the discussion and conclusions of the research, which intend to answer the research questions. In addition, considerations for future research are presented in the end.

2 Background

Burundi is a small, landlocked country in Sub-Saharan Africa, or more accurately in the Great Lakes Region. The people of Burundi belong to different ethnic groups. It is estimated that there are about 85% Hutu, 14% Tutsi, and less than 1% Twa in Burundi. The development of the ethnic tensions that caused the civil war to erupt in 1993 will be examined by looking into the country's history of violence. After the peace agreement was signed in 2005, Burundi was labelled a post-conflict country. This does not mean that there are no conflicts going on today. The current peace can be described as fragile.



Republic of Burundi

Capital: Bujumbura

Country size: 27,830 sq km

Population: 10,5 million

Population growth rate: 3,1%

Rural population: 89%

Official languages: Kirundi, French

Other language: Swahili

Source: CIA World Factbook, 2012

Free, primary education for all children was announced at the end of the civil war. This decision made enrolments to primary education increase sharply and most school-aged children have today entered in 1st grade of primary school. There is one group of Burundians that will not benefit from this. The generation of today's youth grew up during the war, and accordingly, most of them had their education interrupted. This chapter will present the people, the history, the current conflicts, the education system, and the situation of the youth in a country that has been to a certain degree neglected going through a long-lasting and devastating war.

A history of violence

Discussing history is particularly important in order to understand why a country has followed a certain path and why major incidents have happened. The literature on the history of Burundi can provide a background for the course of violence leading up to the civil war. For decades before the outbreak of war, the Burundian society was deeply divided. This section will seek answers to the question: what were the causes for the outbreak of war? When trying to answer that question, other questions arise. Why did ethnicity become an issue? How did ethnic segregation come into practice? Why did the ethnic groups start to clash? To seek answers to these questions, a review of the existing literature on Burundi's history is necessary.

2.1.1 Misinterpretation of the Burundian society

According to the few sources on pre-colonial Burundian history, there were no ethnic conflicts before the Europeans came (Uvin, 2009), although there could be fighting over natural resources between neighbouring regions (Obura, 2008). The Twa, the Hutus, the Tutsis and the Ganwas lived in relative harmony with one another. Burundians considered themselves to be one people (Obura & Bird, 2009). They shared the same language, culture, religion and traditions. Because of these similarities, Obura (2008) refers to them as socio-identity groups. However, the groups had different sets of livelihoods¹ and they had different positions in the monarchy that developed after 1700 (Chrétien, 2003). The most important social entities were the clan and the family (Chrétien, 2003; Watt, 2008; Uvin, 2009). Clans could consist of people from one or two different ethnic groups. As the monarchy took shape, the networks of clans and powerful families, which were allied with the Ganwas, became administrative sub-chiefs in the regions (Uvin, 2009). Tutsis occupied most of these posts, but also Hutus had higher positions in the monarchy. Only Ganwas could be king or princes, while the Twa were assigned the lowest status (Watt, 2008; Uvin, 2009). Even though there was a certain degree of inequality between them, there exists no evidence of conflicts between the groups.

The kingdom was incorporated, together with neighbouring Rwanda, into the German East Africa Company in 1890. When the Belgians took over the colony in 1916, ethnicity did

¹ The Tutsis were cattle-owners, the Hutus were agriculturalists, and the Twa were hunters.

become an issue when they misinterpreted the Burundian society. The Belgians saw the Tutsis as superior because they had inhabited most of the higher positions in the kingdom. “The Hamitic hypothesis” illustrates this prejudiced vision: the Hamitic invasion in Africa was seen as the sole source of any civilization on the continent (Chrétien, 2003; Reyntjens, 1994). The Hamitic culture was understood to be more close to that of the Europeans. While early scholars referred to a Hamitic “invasion” to the Great Lakes Region, Chrétien (2003) rejects that this was the case as there are signs that both Hutus and Tutsis migrated to the area over a longer period of time.

2.1.2 Ethnic exclusion and discrimination

This racial image of the majority of Burundians came into practice in 1930 when the Belgians imposed a massive administrative reorganization (Chrétien, 2003; Reyntjens, 1994). They understood the structure of the kingdom to be feudal, but in reality it had been a “tributary” regime based on personal relations (Reyntjens, 1994). They began a destructuralization of the old system and placed Tutsis at the top of the administrative machinery, thus creating a more feudal, hierarchical system. Only Tutsis were allowed to hold higher positions. As Ganwas were assimilated with the Tutsis, they could keep their strong positions. All Hutus were dismissed, because they were judged incapable (Chrétien, 2003). There were no Hutu chiefs left in 1945. In addition to being excluded from political life, the Hutus were rejected access to education.

The conditions seemed to be in favour of a peaceful beginning for Burundi in the years leading up to independence. Prince Louis Rwagasore, the founder of a multiethnic political party, was elected prime minister in 1961. However, he was shortly after assassinated. The loss of Prince Rwagasore, a painful start for most Burundians, mirrors what was yet to come for the autonomous nation. Burundi gained its independence on 1 July 1962.

Burundi was indirectly affected by the social revolution of Rwanda, where an educated Hutu elite had managed to start a movement overthrowing the Tutsis in 1959. Hutus in Burundi were tempted by what their Hutu neighbours had accomplished, while the Tutsi elite who met Tutsi refugees from Rwanda started to fear the Hutus (Chrétien, 2003). During the first years of independence, people became conscious about their ethnicity.

The 1960s were characterized by political instability, mutual fear and violence. Two elected Hutu prime ministers were assassinated. A Hutu revolt was repressed, which ended with hundreds of Hutu leaders being assassinated and Hutus were abolished from the army and from the political arena (Watt, 2008; Reyntjens, 1994). Similar incidents of Hutu revolt and Tutsi suppression would repeat itself several times in the years to come. In 1966, a military regime came to power. The presidents between 1966 and 1993 were all from the same Tutsi-clan. The Hutus were excluded from political life and their conditions would worsen.

The Tutsis feared that Hutus would be uprising as had happened in Rwanda. “The Burundian logic” as presented by Reyntjens (1994) suggests that the “Hutu peril” was the Tutsis’ rationale for their actions, while the Hutus feared the so-called “Simbananiye-plan”. Simbananiye was an extremist in the Tutsi regime and there were rumours spreading about Tutsis wanting to exterminate the Hutus (ibid.). This logic was kept strong after massacres in 1969, and especially after 1972 when a Hutu rebellion killed thousands of Tutsis, which was met by a counter-attack by the Tutsi-army who systematically assassinated Hutus in secondary education and civilian leaders². Lemarchand (2002) has labelled this massacre a “selective genocide”. Burundians refer to it as *ikiza*, “the scourge” (Prunier, 1994 & 1995; Chrétien, 2003). The sources indicate that the number of people killed was up to 300.000 (Reyntjens, 1994; Prunier, 1995; Lemarchand, 2002; Chrétien, 2003; IDMC & NRC, 2011). About the same amount of people fled the country. After the extensive massacre, the conditions worsened furthermore for the Hutus.

The Burundian logic continued to obsess both sides throughout the 1980s. Hutus created a rebel group in 1980 because they feared a repetition of “the scourge”. The Tutsis, afraid of an uprising, reacted by strengthening control (Watt, 2008). Violence broke out again between the Hutus and the Tutsis in 1988. Initiated by the Hutu rebel group, a few hundred Tutsis were attacked and killed in order to “neutralize the project of Hutu extermination”³ (Chrétien, 2003). The army repressed the attack by killing thousands of Hutus in order to “re-establish order” (Government response cited in Reyntjens, 1994).

After the incident in 1988, there seemed to be a slow progress toward reconciliation. Ndadaye, the leader of the Hutu party, won the presidential elections of 1993. The government was put together with one-third Tutsis (Chrétien, 2003). The Tutsis were

² Ordinary farmers, women and children were also assassinated, although, not to the same extent.

³ Hutu rebel group tracts cited.

particularly concerned about the vast administrative reorganization at the lower levels and about the apparent future loss of control over the army (Reyntjens, 1994; Prunier, 1995; Uvin, 2009).

2.1.3 Civil war

The civil war was set off by the Tutsi military assassinating president Ndadaye on 21 October 1993. Hutus all over the country immediately responded by killing the ones responsible for the death of their president. Since the agents behind this act were Tutsis, all Tutsis were held responsible. Because the Hutus revolted and attacked Tutsis, they were met by the usual counter-attack by the army. Ordinary Tutsis also engaged in the violence. The motives of these actions and reactions were based on the increasingly growing hatred and fear between the two main ethnic groups during the precedent thirty years. The loss of president Ndadaye meant, for the Hutus, losing their triumph over decades of discrimination. The “Hutu peril” and the “Simbananiye plan” were more than ever present, and used in order to legitimate the violence (Reyntjens, 1994).

As opposed to previous massacres in Burundi, the violence continued this time. There were multiple genocides going on (ibid.). A “culture of fear” and a “culture of violence” had been adapted (Prunier, 1995). The environment was different in 1993 because the government was weak after the military coup. State officials had been killed or they were seeking shelter (Reyntjens, 1994). Since the army was ethnically one-sided, it did not play the role of stabilising the events. The army was rather contributing to deepen the conflict. The weakening of the moderate parties provided space for the extremists to grow (Prunier, 1995). In April 1994, a newly elected Hutu president died together with the Rwandan president when their plane got shot down. This incident set off the genocide in Rwanda. The brutal massacres that happened there fuelled the violence in Burundi furthermore (Reyntjens, 1994).

The Arusha Peace Talks managed to effectuate a transition period with the main political actors in 2001. Burundi seemed to be on the right track after the elections of 2005. The war had officially ended, although, one rebel group did not agree to a ceasefire until 2009. The peace agreements were signed between the main political parties and they were sharing power in the government.

Current conflicts and tensions

The peace in Burundi is fragile. The environment is still marked by tensions and conflicts. Burundi has inherited a war legacy. The social, political and economic structures are affected, as well as the psychology of the inhabitants. The memories of war could entail a strong will towards fighting against conflict. On the other side, it is hard to dispose the 'culture of violence'⁴ that has characterized the past decades and that is being fortified by a tradition of impunity. The negative, but inevitable question to be asked is: Can the tensions that exist today trigger a future war?

2.1.4 The urban problem: unemployment and violence

The capital, Bujumbura, suffers especially from insecurity after the war. About 11% of the population live in urban areas, most of whom are concentrated in Bujumbura⁵. The civil war was hard on the capital. Hutus fled the city during ethnic apartheid, which today has left the capital divided in ethnic districts (Pézard & Florquin, 2007). Post-conflict violence is concentrated in Bujumbura (ibid).

There has been a rapid urbanization process and the urban growth rate is at 4,9% per year (www.data.worldbank.org). Particularly young men migrate to the city with the goal of finding work. However, the unemployment rate is higher in Bujumbura than elsewhere in the country⁶. Migration to the cities has led to an expansion of the slums, which in 2007 comprised 64% of the urban population (www.unhabitat.org). There is a policy neglect of the urban slums, which inhabits tens of thousands of underemployed youth (Uvin, 2009). According to Search for Common Ground (2011), this high number of unemployed young people represents a threat to security. Failing to find something meaningful to do and without an income, these youth are left frustrated and angry. In despair, they could easily turn to drugs and engage in criminal activities.

Bandits are identified by Burundians as the greatest risk to peace and stability (Pézard & Florquin, 2007). One of the challenges in the aftermath of war is the accessibility of weapons.

⁴ See Geneva Declaration, 2010.

⁵ The capital, Bujumbura, is the largest city, comprising 75% of the total urban population. Source: www.data.worldbank.org

⁶ Since most people are working in the informal sector, it is difficult to assess unemployment rates, but according to ISTEEDU about 17% of Bujumbura's inhabitants are unemployed, which is the highest number in the country (IMF, 2011).

About 100.000 small arms were estimated to be remaining after the end of war. As of 2009, only one third was seized (IMF, 2011). Bandits possess a considerably number of the remaining weapons. In the capital, many people live in fear of reliving experiences of the war. In order to protect themselves against potential attacks, many people keep guns in their houses (Pézard & Florquin, 2007). This could also be a consequence of the general lack of trust that exists between ordinary people, and that people have limited trust in the state (Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development, 2010). As a result, many people take action in their own hands when it comes to protection.

2.1.5 The rural problem: poverty and land disputes

Burundi is one of the world's poorest nations. The war had severe consequences for the economic situation of most Burundians. The number of people living below the poverty line increased from 36% in 1990 to 67% in 2006⁷ (IMF, 2011; www.data.worldbank.org). Poverty is particularly a rural issue, as the majority of the poor households is situated in rural areas, trying to earn a living from agriculture and livestock (IMF, 2011). The agriculture sector faces challenges as it fails to modernize and hence fails to progress in the same pace as the population growth. (Watt, 2008; IMF, 2011). Burundi is the second most densely populated country in sub-Saharan Africa after Rwanda. With this foundation, it has in addition one of the highest population growth in the world, estimated at 3,1% (CIA, 2012). The population is also increasing due to returnees reintegrating in the communities after the end of war.

The consequences are the culmination of conflicts over land. Land disputes represent most of the cases taken to trial (IMF, 2011; AfDB, 2011). The tradition in Burundi is for males to inherit the land owned by their father. As most families have a relative high number of children, the piece of land possessed by one family gets increasingly smaller from one generation to another when it is divided. Many refugees and IDPs are returning to their home communities after the war, only to find their land occupied by others. Conflicts over land will continue to be an issue as long as returnees are trying to reintegrate in Burundi and as long as the birth rate remains high. In order to redress the problem of population pressure on land, the government has stated that the average birth rate per woman needs to be reduced from 7 to 3 children (IRIB, 2011). In addition, in order to cope with the problem of rural poverty and land

⁷ Other, less reliable sources provide much higher numbers after 2006. This may be due to other means of measuring, e.g. international standards and not national.

disputes, there needs to be increased access to employment opportunities for the poor and vulnerable groups (IMF, 2011; PBC, 2007). Where there is limited access to judicial institutions, people solve the problems on their own (PBC, 2007). Sometimes conflict resolution in communities gets violent (Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development, 2010).

2.1.6 Political tension

The elections of 2010 changed the optimistic scenery that had more or less characterized the years after the war. Most of the opposition parties withdrew from the elections because of presupposed fraud. Violence broke out during the elections. Nevertheless, the elections continued as planned and Nkurunziza was re-elected as president. A report presented by the International Crisis Group (2011) analyses the situation in the wake of the elections. The report points to severe consequences of the elections. Firstly, the opposition became marginalized, went underground and joined armed groups in the Kivu. Allegedly, there are also other groups that have taken up arms (Human Rights Watch, 2010 & 2012). Secondly, the government became weaker due to the political split. There was less political dialogue and corruption started to increase. According to the report, “Burundi is descending ever deeper into a political impasse that risks reversing a decade’s progress” (ICG, 2011: i). The ruling party dominates in the government with almost exclusive control. Any action that is believed to weaken the state has been met by arrest, threat or even death (Human Rights Watch, 2010). The consequence is a less democratic state that becomes increasingly repressive towards the opposition and also towards people that are assumed to be supporting the opposition. The government and the rebels are involved in a conflict spiral that seems to include more and more violence in order to repress each other.

One could say that violence has substituted dialogue. Political assassinations are frequent. Security forces and the youth-wing of the ruling party are responsible for killing more than 300 members of the opposition from May to November 2011⁸ (IRIN, 2011). In addition, there have been several clashes between the security forces and armed groups (ICG, 2011). Much of the violence is directed towards civilians. Armed groups have attacked villages and massacred ordinary people (Burundi’s Troubles, 2012). These groups are referred to as armed

⁸ The NRC security adviser stated that there had been about 300 political assassinations between May and October 2011.

bandits by the government, which refuses to admit that there are new rebel groups operating (IRIN, 2011; Burundi's Troubles, 2012; ICG, 2011; SFCG, 2011). It seems like the politicians are trying to camouflage that there are violent political tensions. They reject that there are new rebel groups operating (Burundi's Troubles, 2012; IRIN, 2011). The media is not allowed to cover anything on the rebel groups (ICG, 2011; Human Rights Watch, 2010 & 2012; IRIN, 2011). The government refers to the attacks, which mainly affect civilians (Geneva Declaration, 2010), as the work of bandits (IRIN, 2011).

Education

From being the privilege of the elite, education has become open for all Burundians. Education has been intrinsically linked to conflict throughout the years. Schools and educated people have been targets for attacks and massacres. The school has been seen as the main source of ethnic division in Burundi (Mariro, 1998 referred to in Obura, 2008). The civil war had severe consequences for the education system, but as primary education became free for all children after 2005, there has been a rapid development of the system. However, today's generation of youth grew up during the war, and accordingly, most of them had their education interrupted.

2.1.7 History of education

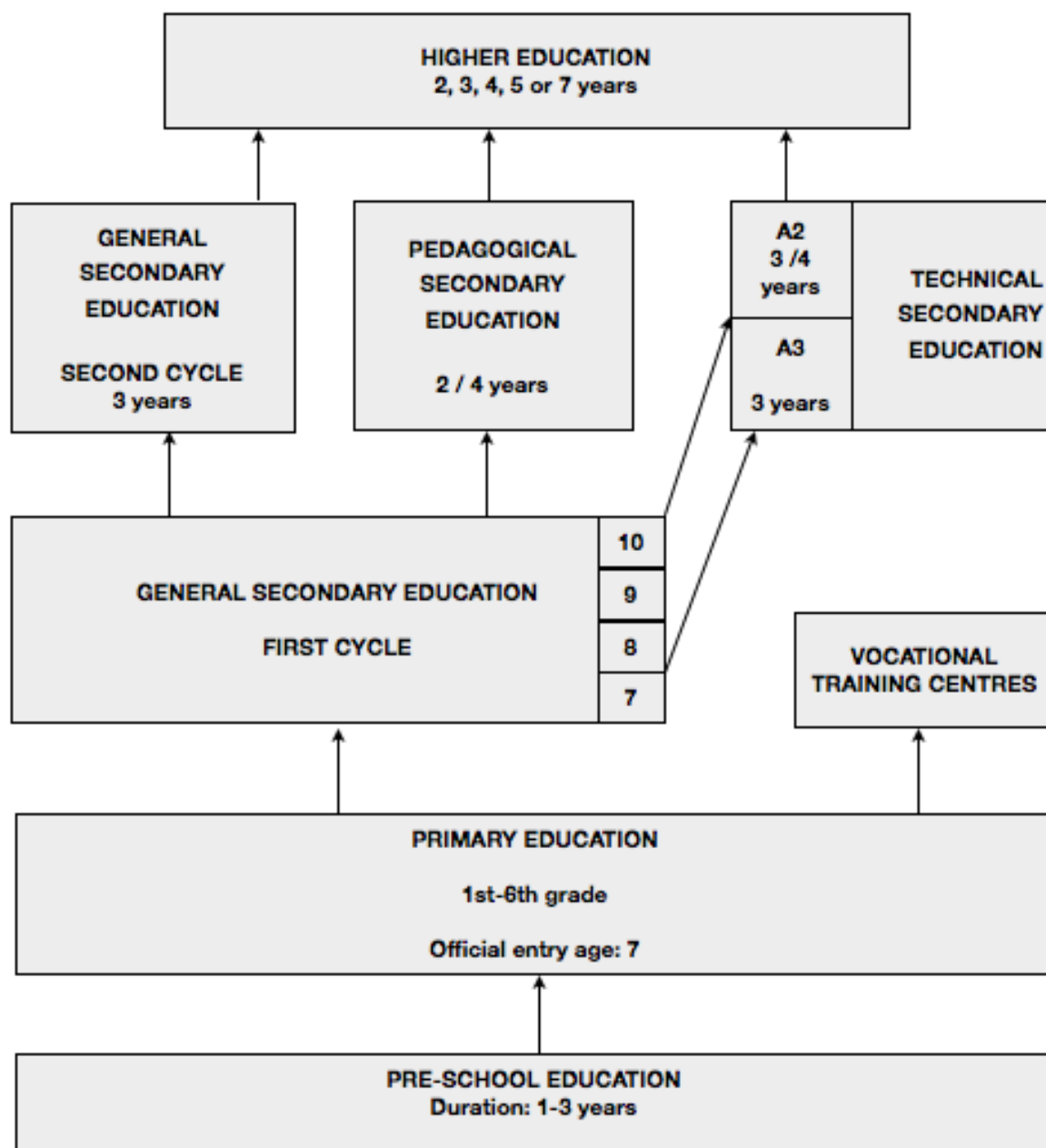
The early education practices can be related to the prevailing circumstances during the colonial period. Primary schools were introduced in Burundi by the first Catholic mission in 1900. The objective of educating children was principally religious. Ethnic differentiation can be traced back to the very first schools. The colonial authorities saw the Tutsis as superior to the Hutus. As a result, they decided to separate Hutus and Tutsis in schools. Hutus were educated in subjects that would keep them in lower occupations, such as peasantry, while the Tutsi elite was educated to work in the colonial administration. In addition, textbooks were filled with prejudiced images of the ethnic groups in order to infiltrate these values in Burundians. The number of schools increased rapidly from the 1920s onwards. As part of the reorganization campaign in the beginning of the 1930s, it was decided that only Tutsis would get an education and Hutus were thus limited access to school (Obura & Bird, 2009). During the colonial period, the Tutsi elite was educated essentially in primary schools (Chrétien, 2003). At independence, there were only a couple of secondary schools and higher education

institutions were non-existent. (Obura, 2008)

As mentioned above, Burundi experienced an unstable political environment during the first decade of independence. The ethnic division became more apparent as they settled the conditions for the autonomous nation. This split between Hutus and Tutsis worked its way into the classrooms as well. The Tutsi dictatorship implemented more and more discriminatory practices towards the Hutus in school. According to Obura (2008), there were high repetition rates and many children had to drop out of school because of the tough schooling system. In combination with general poverty, the enrolment rates decreased in the 1960s. Especially Hutus had difficulties in school. “The scourge” of 1972 targeted educated Hutus in particular (Prunier, 1994; Lemarchand, 2002; Watt, 2008; Obura, 2008). After the genocide, Hutus started to withdraw their children from school out of fear (Uvin, 2009). This fear was enhanced by the regime spreading rumours of new massacres. The year after the genocide of 1972, the government decided to nationalize education. Until then, there had been about 35 education associations running schools in Burundi. Obura (2008) states that there was no cooperation between these associations and that they used different school models.

2.1.8 The education system

Figure 2.1: The Burundian education system⁹



The formal education system consists of five levels: preschool, primary, secondary, vocational¹⁰, and higher education. There are four categories of schools. Schools that belong to the public sector are administrated, managed and funded by the state. Conventional schools

⁹ Figure translated and adjusted. Source: Bureau de la Planification de l'Education (BPE), 2010.

¹⁰ Although the Ministry of Education presented the vocational training centres as part of the formal education system in 2010, they were not yet included officially.

are run by religious organizations (mostly protestant and catholic), while the state is funding these schools. Communal schools are administrated and managed by the Ministry of Secondary Education, while the municipalities are responsible for funding. Private organizations are fully responsible for the private schools. The government has an intention of entering into a dialogue with the private organizations to investigate the possibilities for cooperation in order to get a common objective for education (www.seo-psdef.bi¹¹).

Table 2.1: Number of institutions by category in 2010¹²

	Pre-primary	Primary	General / pedagogic	Technical secondary	Vocational training	Higher education
PUBLIC	126	2149	78	42	86	4
CONVENTIONAL	59	960	-	-	18	-
COMMUNAL	338	-	738	-	-	-
PRIVATE	92	84	97	34	25	18
TOTAL	615	3193	913	76	129	22

Table 2.2: Enrolments per category and level of education in 2010

	Pre-primary	Primary	General / pedagogic	Technical secondary	Vocational training	Higher education
PUBLIC	9029	1.202.839	48.316	9504	1925	12.393
CONVENTIONAL	3378	626.546	-	-	1225	-
COMMUNAL	31.527	-	250.034	-	-	-
PRIVATE	11.169	20.476	23.762	5961	1913	16.876
TOTAL	55.103	1.849.861	322.112	15.465	5063	29.269

¹¹ Le Plan Sectoriel de Developpement de l'Education et de la Formation (Le PSDEF). Website accessed in August 2012.

¹² Source for both tables: BPE, 2010. In both Table 1 and Table 2, the number of institutions and enrolments in the first cycle of general secondary education is combined with the second cycle and with pedagogical education.

Pre-school education lasts between 1 and 3 years. There are public, conventional, communal, and private pre-schools. Most pre-schools are managed by the municipalities as Table 2 shows. Most children are enrolled in public primary schools, but conventional schools are also common.

After 6 years of primary school, the pupils have two options of further education. The ones who do not wish to proceed to 1st cycle of secondary education can choose to go to vocational training centres instead. The number of pupils in these centres remains limited however. The training lasts for 2 to 3 years depending on type of vocation. Most children who choose to continue their education after primary school go to *collège*, or lower secondary school. This is the first cycle of general secondary education. At all these levels, communal schools are by far the most numerous. There are also strictly public or private schools. In lower secondary school, students can choose to enter technical schools after the completion of 7th grade. If they finish 10th grade, there are several options available to them.

The second cycle of general secondary education has 3 streams: natural sciences, languages and economics. Pedagogic section is divided in 2 institutions: the *écoles normales* educate students for 4 years for the teaching profession in secondary school, while the *lycées pédagogiques* prepare students for 2 years to work in primary school. Schools at both lower and upper secondary level are boarding schools. After the completion of one of these secondary sections, students can be enrolled in higher education institutions, which include universities, teacher training colleges and technical institutions.

Apart from the formal education system, there is a literacy programme, which is run in centres by private organizations, such as NGOs and religious groups. Literacy classes are mostly for adults, but also for over-aged students. In addition, there is special needs education, which is provided for a small number of handicapped. Private organizations are running this type of education. (BPE, 2010; www.seo-psdef.bi)

2.1.9 Development of the education system

As the pieces of the education puzzle were brought together in a nationalization campaign initiated in 1973, a system started to evolve. This initiative meant the end of 35 different education associations running schools. The objectives of the reform of 1973 were twofold (Obura, 2008). First, conditions were to be set in order to provide education for the majority,

the rural children. In addition, the aim of primary education would be to prepare children for secondary studies. An official curriculum, textbooks, and national policies on education were developed. However, it would take some time to implement the reform of 1973.

Although, the government had decided that the aim of the reform was to get the majority of children into primary school, this did not happen immediately. Even though this was due to a delay in the implementation of the reform, historical incidents could also partly explain the slow development of the system. In 1971, the gross enrolment rate in primary school was at 28% (www.uis.unesco.org¹³). This was before the genocide happened. Enrolments to primary school decreased after the massacres, as Hutus withdrew their children from school out of fear for a repetition of the incident. By 1980, the gross enrolment rate in primary school was at 24% and had started to increase slightly from the lowest point of the 1970s. The other aim of the 1973 reform was to get children into secondary school.

During the first half of the 1980s, the first initiatives of the 1973 reform were implemented. A new curriculum was produced, which introduced Kirundi as the language of instruction for the first four years of primary school, thus making education more accessible for the majority of Burundians. Enrolments to primary school increased rapidly in the 1980s. This was especially due to the introduction of double shifts (Obura, 2008; Obura & Bird, 2009). In 1990, the gross enrolment rate in primary education was at 71% (www.uis.unesco.org). Double shifts entailed that teachers' working hours increased without any extra salary, while children's learning hours decreased¹⁴. This initiative had dramatic results for the quality of education. At the same time, it became increasingly harder for Hutus to make it in school. For instance, examination results in primary schools were manipulated in order to prevent Hutus from succeeding in school. This practice came out in the open towards the end of the 1980s (Obura, 2008). The Hutu uprising in 1988 was partly due to discrimination in school (Reyntjens, 1994).

The implementation of the 1973 reform continued in the beginning of the 1990s. In order to reach the objective of enrolling more children into secondary school, the government decided to decentralize some of the education institutions (Obura, 2008). Community schools at lower

¹³ UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS). Website accessed in November 2012.

¹⁴ The school day was divided in two, meaning that one group of children had classes in the morning and the other group in the afternoon.

secondary level were developed, which were to be financed by the municipalities (Obura, 2008; www.seo-psdef.bi). The civil war, which broke out in 1993 had severe consequences for education. Schools were attacked, school buildings and materials were destroyed, funding to education declined, teachers and students were killed or fled, and enrolments decreased (Obura, 2008; www.seo-psdef.bi). Although the war put a hold on the development of the education system, enrolments to the first cycle of secondary school doubled during the 1990s. When the peace talks started in the late 1990s, the conditions for education gradually improved. In 2000, it was decided to further decentralize education institutions by establishing upper secondary schools at communal level (BPE, 2010). The intention was that these schools would enrol students from community *collège* (www.seo-psdef.bi).

In 2005, the war had officially ended. The first decision of the newly elected president was to provide free, primary education for all children. Enrolments to primary schools rose sharply. From 2000 to 2010, the gross enrolment rate in primary education went from 63% to 156%. Burundi has had a progressive development towards establishing gender parity in school. The gender parity index for primary school based on gross enrolment rate was at 0.99 in 2010 compared with 0.80 in 2000. Enrolments to secondary school have also increased during the 2000s. The gross enrolment rate in secondary school went from 10% to 25% in the same period. The rapid improvements in the Burundian education system can be explained by comprehensive governmental efforts to ensure education for all as of 2005. Government expenditure on education has augmented substantially. In 1999, 3,5% of the GNP went to education, while the amount had increased to 9,4% in 2010. In the same period, expenditure on education in relation to total government budget increased from 13,3% to 25,1%. However, Burundi is dependent upon external contributions to make ends meet for education. The improvements in education underlines the aim of the government to meet the second Millennium Development Goal of ensuring that all children will be able to complete primary education by 2015 (www.seo-psdef.bi).

2.3.4 Educational opportunities for youth

It is estimated that more than half a million Burundians fled the country and that 800.000 became internally displaced (Uvin, 2009; Obura & Bird, 2009). As refugees and IDPs, it was difficult to access schools. During the 12-year-long civil war, many children missed out on education. In 1999, almost two-thirds of all primary school-aged children were estimated to

be out of school (www.uis.unesco.org). Today, there exist no statistics on out-of-school youth, but according to the director of the Department of Educational Planning in Burundi, the number is presumably high. According to estimations and the few statistics available, many youth missed out on education during the war.

Some youth managed, however, to continue formal education. There are youth in all levels of formal education. Primary enrolment was open for older children and youth who did not have access to school during the war years. According to the director of the Department for Secondary Education, this practice has now been abandoned. Nevertheless, due to the high repetition rates, there will continue to be youth in primary and lower secondary school. One third of the students needed to repeat each grade in primary school in 2010 (BPE, 2010). In 6th grade of primary school, the average age of the students was 14,8 years (ibid.). Some youth have managed to progress faster to get to secondary school and universities. One third of the students enrolled in 6th grade of primary school entered secondary school in 2010 (www.seo-psdef.bi). Those who did not get the possibility to continue formal education are struggling to find an alternative.

As presented above about the education system, there are a few alternatives to general secondary schooling. 10% of the students in 6th grade of primary school continue their education at a vocational training centre (ibid.). An average of 7,4% drop out of primary school in each grade (BPE, 2010). The options available to these youth are very limited.

There are many NGOs present in Burundi. Several of these have education programs. According to the education coordinators for UNESCO Burundi, the NRC was perceived to be the most important NGO working with education in the country. Another NGO, the International Rescue Committee (IRC), has a similar program as the NRC, but this one only lasts for 5 months. The NRC closed all its programs in Burundi by the end of 2011. The organization had a youth program in Burundi, called the Youth Education Pack (YEP), which had a holistic approach to youth and taught them in three main skills: literacy and numeracy, life skills, and vocational skills. The program lasted for about 10 months per group of youth. The program was expensive and reached a number of 300 students each year. All in all, since the beginning of the YEP-program in Burundi in 2005, the NRC has reached about 2100 youth. Other NGOs and local associations have various programs for youth, but the overall extension of educational programs remains restricted.

Most youth who had their education interrupted find themselves without any opportunities for further schooling. The increasing inaccessibility of land to cultivate and the lack of employment possibilities turn uneducated young people into a marginalized group. Without anything meaningful to do and without an income, it is easy to turn to activities such as crime, drugs and violence.

3 Methodology

The content and purpose of research guide the choice of research method (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). While the content is concerned with *what* is being studied and the purpose describes *why* it will be studied, the method used illustrates *how* the research will reach the purpose. Research methodology entails making choices that reflect the purpose of the study. These choices are made throughout the research process; from thematizing and designing a field research, to the data collection, and finally data analysis, verification and reporting (ibid.). In this chapter, several choices will be justified: qualitative research strategy, comparative design, research site, sampling method, interview as instrument for collecting data and type of analysis method. Finally, validity and reliability in qualitative research say something about the quality of research, while the ethical considerations take the research participants into account.

Qualitative research strategy

The purpose presented in the introduction necessitates the use of a qualitative research strategy. Youth compose a critical group to address in a post-conflict situation. Since it is not clear who they are and what their roles are, the needs of youth are often neglected. The images on youth are typically negative, seeing them as threats to peace and security. But if their needs are met and if their voices are heard, their capabilities as active and energetic citizens can instead become a resource in the peace building process.

The first research question is: What is the potential of youth as peace builders? In this research project, the perceptions of youth are studied in order to find out what they think about the world they live in and in order to for me as a researcher to be able to understand their roles in that world. Since peace building requires the voices of the marginalized to be heard, a qualitative research strategy is appropriate. A qualitative research strategy seeks to understand the social world of the research participants through words with an emphasis on thick descriptions (Bryman, 2008), meaning that it seeks as detailed descriptions as possible. The study of peace is also the study of conflict. Knowledge of both peace and conflict is rooted in the lived world of the people at the grassroots level. From their experiences and perceptions of conflict, and from their ideas on peace, new perspectives can emerge. In a qualitative research, concepts and theories are generated from the research findings (ibid.). Thus, it is

important that there is a balance between being flexible and open to new perspectives that might emerge during research.

The second research question is: To what degree does education contribute in shaping young peace builders? According to Bryman (2008), social phenomena are better understood when two or more meaningful contrasting cases are compared. Since the purpose of this research is to investigate different roles of youth in war-to-peace transitions it is necessary to make some comparison. The purpose is also to understand the role of education in shaping actors for peace. Therefore, a comparative research design is employed. In qualitative research, a comparative design is often referred to as a multiple-case study (*ibid.*). In order to find out about the role of education in shaping young people's roles in a post-conflict setting, the cases compared are groups of youth with divergent educational backgrounds. Three cases are included in the research: (1) out-of-school youth with limited primary education; (2) youth with limited primary education who have entered an alternative training center; and (3) youth in upper secondary school. The findings from these three cases will be compared and interpreted in order to reveal similarities and differences, which can strengthen theoretical or conceptual arguments.

Access to the field

Burundi as location of research was chosen based on two factors. First of all, the context of post-conflict Burundi provided a setting that was relevant to the research purpose as it has a large youth population and since the country is in a transitional phase after the end of the war. Secondly, due to security concerns, I needed assistance in order to access the country in safe and secure manner. The NRC assisted my field visit in relation to practical issues and for security reasons both prior to and during the fieldwork. Preparations before the visit included a basic security course and a pre-deployment security brief. In addition, NRC employees helped me get in contact with staff based in Burundi so that I could make plans concerning accommodation, transport and meetings with NGOs. These plans facilitated the arrival and ensured that the first days of the field visit were filled with appointments in order to save time. For two reasons, the fieldwork could only last for one month. First of all, the NRC was headed towards closing the Burundi office in the end of 2011 and the employees had limited time to assist me. Secondly, it was difficult to obtain a visa that was valid for more than one month.

The NRC country office was based in the capital, Bujumbura City, and therefore, it became the natural base for my research as well. The NRC employees in Burundi provided an office where I could work, they helped me get in contact with an interpreter, NGOs, schools and the Ministry of Education, and they organized field visits to YEP-centers. Bujumbura City offered a point of departure for both urban and rural areas of conducting research. I wanted variety in the research setting. Since most of the population lives in rural areas, I wanted to conduct research in rural villages. However, the urban area of the capital provided a different setting for comparison. The rural areas were visited during day trips with assistance from the NRC. In addition, I staid three days in the village, Makamba, in the south of the country in order to get a new setting less influenced by urbanization. The objective was to conduct research in different locations in order to get a variety of research participants.

Sampling

The selection of research participants was based on availability, security and adequacy. The sampling techniques can be described as a combination of purposive and convenience sampling, which are both types of non-probability sampling (Babbie, 2010). The following criteria were used: age, as well as level and type of education for comparison. Since youth-hood has been described as delayed in post-conflict Burundi, only older youth between the ages of 18 and 30 were included. In addition, three groups of youth from different educational backgrounds were included in the study. In one of the groups, the youth needed to be students in upper secondary school. In another group, they had to be studying at a vocational training center targeting youth with limited educational background. In the final group, the youth were out-of-school with only a few years of primary schooling.

Table 3.1: Presentation of groups

Group 1: out-of-school youth with limited primary schooling
Group 2: youth who could not continue formal schooling and entered an alternative
Group 3: youth in upper secondary school

After having met the criteria presented above, the selection was made based upon the availability of youth. However, there were two additional considerations that were made. I tried to get a variety of research participants based on rural and urban places of residence. About halfway through the fieldwork, I asked specifically to interview a girl or a boy based on the gender composition of each group up until that point. These considerations were not to be part of the basis for comparison in the analysis and I did not regard them as criteria. Instead, these considerations were taken in order to provide a sample of youth who were not homogenous in each of the groups. In other words, the purpose was to have a variety of youth in each group so there is less of a chance that they are influenced by the same people in the same neighborhood. One final consideration was that I wanted to include about the same number of youth in each of the groups.

When the criteria and the potential considerations had been taken into account, the sampling was based on convenience and availability. In the sampling process, I was always dependent upon gatekeepers. The sampling was done differently based upon the various circumstances. However, the participants that are part of the final analysis did all meet the sampling criteria.

Concerning the sampling of youth in upper secondary school, someone who spoke Kirundi needed to call a school in order to set up a meeting with the school director or an administrative employee of the school. After the meetings, the director or the employee would find a student that I could interview.

The youth in vocational training centers were easier to contact since the NRC was running YEP-centers. I visited two of these centers on day trips from Bujumbura City. In an attempt to get a certain variety in the case of youth of group 2, I visited two vocational training centers¹⁵ in the capital with assistance from my gatekeepers. In Makamba, one former YEP-student was called to the NRC office for an interview.

Initially, I wanted to interview out-of-school street youth. However, it turned out to be difficult to reach them due to security reasons. My gatekeepers contacted youth in their neighborhoods who had limited primary education, but they had an employment. Nonetheless, they composed a distinctive group in relation to the other two groups.

¹⁵ These centers were presented in chapter 2 as part of the formal education system since they are going to become formal.

There were a few challenges in relation to the sampling process. First of all, due to language differences, there were sometimes misinterpretations about meetings and the criteria for selecting participants. Secondly, there was not sufficient time to make rearrangements. For security reasons, the visits to the field had to end in time to return before the dark. In addition, the youth were busy in school or at work, and it was difficult for them to take time off. The combination of these factors made last minute decisions frequent. Nonetheless, the interviewees could be related to the selection criteria. However, one of the youth interviewed turned out to be in-between two of the groups for comparison and could not be included in the data analysis.

The interviewees are presented in the table below by a pseudonym, type of place of origin and/or residence, and to their type and level of education. The colours indicate their level of education in relation to the groups to be compared in the study. There are 12 interviewees presented below. There number of interviewees in each group varies, but only to a small extent. There are 4 youth in the first group, 5 youth in the second group, and 3 youth in the third group presented.

Table 3.2: Presentation of interviewees by group

Name (pseudonym)	Place	Completed years of schooling
Delphine	Rural, urban	2 years of primary school
Aristide	Rural	2 years of primary school
Innocent	Rural, urban	5 years of primary school
Claude	Rural	5 years of primary school
Dieudonné	Rural	4 years of primary school 1 year of vocational training (YEP)
Eric	Rural	3 years of primary school 1 year of vocational training (YEP)
Francine	Rural	6 years of primary school 1 year of vocational training (YEP)
Claudette	Rural, urban	6 years of primary school 1 year of vocational training (sewing)
Linda	Rural	6 years of formal school 1 year of vocational training (YEP)
Angelique	Rural, urban	12 years of formal school (technical)
Diane	Rural	12 years of formal school (teacher training)
Yves	Urban	12 years of formal school (general subjects)

Collecting data through interviews

The choice of using interviews as instrument for data collection was based on the purpose of the study, to reveal the voices of Burundian youth. Qualitative interviews have the objective of uncovering rich and detailed descriptions from the interviewees with an emphasis on their own meaning of the world they live in (Bryman, 2008; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

Before I began the field research, I developed a semi-structured interview guide based on topics related to the research questions. First of all, I had a facesheet in the guide in order to get some basic information from the interviewees such as age, gender, type and level of education, and/or occupation. In addition, the guide included a list of suggested interview questions. During the field research, I changed the interview guide several times in relation to the different groups of youth, language (French or English), and based on my experience of asking the questions. However, I did not change any of the main questions. After having interviewed five youth, I included a new question that turned out to be of importance. This question was: what do you think will change when today's youth are in power of the nation? Since I have limited data on this, it is included as a consideration for future research.

Once in the field, I got in contact with an interpreter. Even though French is one of the official languages in Burundi, people with limited education have normally not learned French. When interviewing youth of group 3 who were in upper secondary school, I did the interviews on my own in French. However, when interviewing youth with limited schooling, I needed an interpreter to translate from Kirundi. The interpreter was a young Burundian woman who had a broad knowledge in languages and experience working as an interpreter. She preferred to translate the interviews from Kirundi to English.

Before starting the interview, I first briefed the interviewees on the topic and purpose of my research. I encouraged them to be as open and honest as possible since the purpose of the research is to reveal the voices from below. I stated the independence of my research in relation to the NRC, especially towards the YEP-participants. Since I arrived in an NRC car together with NRC employees when I was going to interview YEP-participants, they could easily perceive that I was doing research for the NRC, which could affect their answers. In order to be able to focus on the necessary questions to pose, I used a digital recorder instead of writing notes during the interviews.

When conducting the interviews, the sequence of the questions could change as well as the way I asked a question. I had several main issues to raise in the interviews, but when and how it happened could depend on the situation and the natural flow of the conversation.

Sometimes it was natural and relevant to follow up on what the interviewees said. For instance, if the interviewees had much to say, I did not follow the sequence in the interview guide as I followed up on their ideas. However, I related the follow up questions to the topics in the guide. All in all, I tried to keep a balance between follow up on what they said and

maintaining the link to the topics in the interview guide. The interpreter also posed follow up questions or clarifying questions from time to time. However, she did inform me about it and the questions were relevant to the topic.

Other times I needed to clarify the meaning of what they said. This was particularly a challenge in two of the interviews due to language difficulties. One interview was with a Burundian girl who only spoke Swahili since she had been to school in a refugee camp in Tanzania. Fortunately, my interpreter spoke Swahili. However, she was not fluent in the language. Another interviewee had limited knowledge of French. In both of these interviews, much time was spent on clarifying the meaning of what the interviewees said. In order to get through all of the topics in the interview guide, these interviews lasted longer than the others.

The interviews lasted between 48 minutes, and 2 hours and 16 minutes. The majority of them lasted for about 1 hour and 15 minutes. The interviews with the interpreter tended to be longer than the interviews conducted alone in French due to translation. Due to the time limit of some of the interviews, there was sometimes a need to make judgments of which questions to ask that would cover the main topics since there would not be sufficient time to go through all of the questions in the interview guide. At the end of each interview, I asked if the participants had any questions for me. As a result, the interview often continued after having gone through the interview guide.

Method for data analysis

Upon return from the field, I transcribed all the interviews by listening to the recording tapes I had made of the interviews. I wrote down what the interviewees or the interpreter said word-by-word. The emphasis was on the words since the purpose is to reveal the meaning of what they expressed. Most interviews were conducted in English, but I also had three interviews in French with the respondents of group 3. The interviews in French were not translated. Instead, I translated the quotes I used from this group.

After having transcribed all the interviews, I had a few hundred pages of text that I needed to make meaning of. I started by using a method called meaning condensation (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). This is a process involving five steps: (1) read the interview to get an overview; (2) determine 'meaning units' expressed; (3) restate dominating themes simply; (4) interrogate 'meaning units' in relation to purpose; and (5) tie together the essential themes. In

this manner, the theory is linked to the themes that emerge. However, I discovered that the predetermined conceptual framework put restrictions on the meaning that the interviewees expressed. The predetermined topics were related to what the interviewees said. In order to reveal the voices from below, I decided to start with the interviews instead.

The second process of data analysis entailed having an open mind and read through the transcribed interviews a few times in order to uncover the emerging themes. I underlined the recurring themes and copied the quotes stating the most eminent themes into a new text. I read through the new and shorter text a few times before I decided upon a structure to present the themes. In addition to revealing the repeating themes, the analysis also took into account negative cases, and found similarities and differences between and within the groups for comparison. The themes and concepts that emerged in the presentation became the basis for making adjustments to the framework.

Quality of research

The quality of research is normally concerned with to what degree it is valid, reliable and objective (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). First of all, this research project has an emphasis on revealing the voices from below, of Burundian youth. My role as a researcher, foreign to the context and culture of Burundi, was to be open-minded and listen to the words as expressed by the interviewees. In order to limit the personal bias, I developed an interview guide that did not include leading questions. During the interviews, I noticed that from time to time that some ad hoc clarifying questions could put words in the respondents' answers. However, if this was the case, I noted it and took it into considerations in the analysis of data. This is necessarily an issue with regards to the use of an interpreter as well. I could not always be certain that the interpreter translated the questions as I had expressed them. In order to reduce the chance of leading questions, I had a meeting with the interpreter before conducting the interviews to explain, in detail, the purpose of my research and agree on the role of the interpreter during the interviews.

I took precautions in relation to the role of the NRC, which could have significance for the responses I would get from the YEP-students. Since I arrived together with the NRC at the YEP-centers, they could easily believe that I was conducting research for the NRC. At the beginning of the interview, I stated clearly the independent role I had in relation to the NRC.

However, during the interviews, there could be contradicting responses from the participants concerning the benefits of YEP and their beliefs in the future for instance.

In order to emphasize the overall meaning of what the groups expressed, I looked for emerging themes during the data analysis. When I had highlighted the emerging themes in the presentation of findings, I included negative cases as well, which build up on the transparency of the research process. I refer to the emerging themes as tendencies, since there usually are negative cases.

During the fieldwork, I took fieldwork notes in a book and I used a digital recorder for the interviews. I have the complete records of all fieldwork notes, digital recordings, transcriptions of interviews, in addition to tables and documents made in the data analysis process.

Ethical considerations

There are several ethical considerations that need to be made in relation to the respondents. Since they represent a small group of respondents, it is particularly important to take into account their anonymity. At the beginning of the interviews, I stated that their anonymity would be guaranteed as much as possible and that the use of a digital recorder was not to be used against them. Before starting the interview, I asked for permission to use a digital recorder. I did not get their names in the recordings as I turned on the recorder after the presentation and brief.

I have taken precautions related to withholding their anonymity in the presentation of respondents above. I have not indicated the name of the school, their age or the name of their place of residence. Anonymity was especially a concern regarding the YEP-participants because they were concerned about my role in relation to the NRC. One of them was worried about providing too much information. It is important that their anonymity is maintained. I was careful with providing sensitive quotes in the presentation of the voices of Burundian youth in chapter 6.

During the interviews, some of the respondents did not want to talk about politics. Politics is often considered a sensitive topic, but this is especially the case in Burundi where political oppositions are dangerous. If I noticed that they did not want to talk about political issues, I

went on to another question. During the very first interviews, I did not ask the respondents about their experiences from the war (although a couple of them referred to the war anyway) because I thought that the topic could be too difficult for the youth to talk about. After having talked to my interpreter about the issue, she assured me that it would not be a problem to talk about the war. The interviewees shared many stories from the war and it did not seem to be an issue for them.

I wanted to give something to the youth to thank them for allowing me to spend time to talk with them. I brought notebooks and pens, which I gave to them at the end of the interview. The out-of-school youth who were working needed to take time off work to talk to me. The gatekeepers agreed with them on a price for the interview in order to compensate for their time.

4 A review of the literature

Even though the objective of this research is to reveal the roles of youth and the role of education in promoting peace, it is more or less impossible to do so without looking into the negative sides of youth and education through their roles in conflict promotion. Much literature focuses on the conflict aspects, although an increasing amount of literature looks at how young people and education can contribute in the peace building process. This chapter provides a review of the literature on youth with a focus on defining youth-hood and presenting the dominant images on the roles of youth. Definitions of peace and peace building are then presented, before the literature on the role of education for peace building is reviewed.

Defining youth

There are many different definitions of and approaches to youth. Western organizations and nations define youth from an age range. Even within the age ranges of youth and young people there are variations. Most international agencies, including the UN, define youth between the ages of 15 and 24. Young people are often defined between the ages of 10 and 24 (Smith & Ellison, 2012). The UN and other agencies also make a distinction between teenagers between the age of 13 and 19 (Danesh, 2008; NRC, 2010; Smith & Ellison, 2012), and adolescents between the age of 10 and 19 (Kemper, 2005; Sommers, 2006; Smith & Ellison, 2012). In addition, other organizations use definitions that differ in age range from these. The age definitions are multiple and they are mostly identified by Western actors' idea of what constitutes 'youth-hood'.

In African countries, youth are normally defined from socio-cultural criteria based on their functions in society (Kemper, 2005; Sommers, 2001a). Such criteria could be related to their responsibilities, family and work situation. A definition of youth must be based on the cultural context and on how youth perceive themselves (Sommers, 2001a). In Burundi, the transition from youth-hood to adulthood is marked by marriage. In addition, young men are expected to be able to provide for the family and find a house (Sommers & Uvin, 2011).

This transition to adulthood is seriously delayed in Burundian society today. Poverty and unemployment make it increasingly harder for young people to settle down and start a family

(Sommers, 2001b; Kemper, 2005; Uvin, 2009). The consequence is that they wait longer before they get married. All in all, changes in society make young people stay youth longer. In addition, the civil war has also increased the youth population. The number of youth increases as a result of war, because these people have not gone through the necessary changes in order to become adults (Kemper, 2005; Smith & Ellison, 2012). Their lives have been put on hold.

The development of the education system also has consequences for the high youth population. An increasing number of youth continues to secondary school and even higher education levels. They also stay a long time in school due to high repetition rates. The youth population increases fast in many African countries. Burundi has one of the world's highest youth population, 74.9% are under 30 years old (Sommers & Uvin, 2011).

“Worldwide, adolescence and young adulthood is regarded as a transitional phase and is often associated with increased vulnerabilities and challenges” (INEE, 2011). Since the period of youth-hood changes in relation to societal transformation, especially in a post-conflict society, it is difficult to use a clear-cut definition on youth. The easiest is to define youth for what they are not: “youth are not dependent children, but neither are they independent, socially responsible adults” (De Wall 2002 as cited in Sommers, 2006: 5). Therefore, it is easier to think of youth-hood as a process between childhood and adulthood, which is defined out of contextual conditions (Smith & Ellison, 2012).

Considering the current situation for youth in Burundi described above, the youth population has increased. Youth stay youth longer and it becomes increasingly harder to settle down and start an adult life. There is a high number of youth who have missed out on education and they struggle to find an employment.¹⁶ This study focuses on older youth, aged 18 to 30, since they constitute a neglected group. They are not protected under the UN Convention for the Rights of the Child. Few have been given opportunities for socio-economic development, which results in a delayed transition to adulthood.

¹⁶ There are no statistics on out-of-school and unemployed youth in Burundi, but the number is believed to be high. According to the director of the Department for Educational Planning, the number is presumably high.

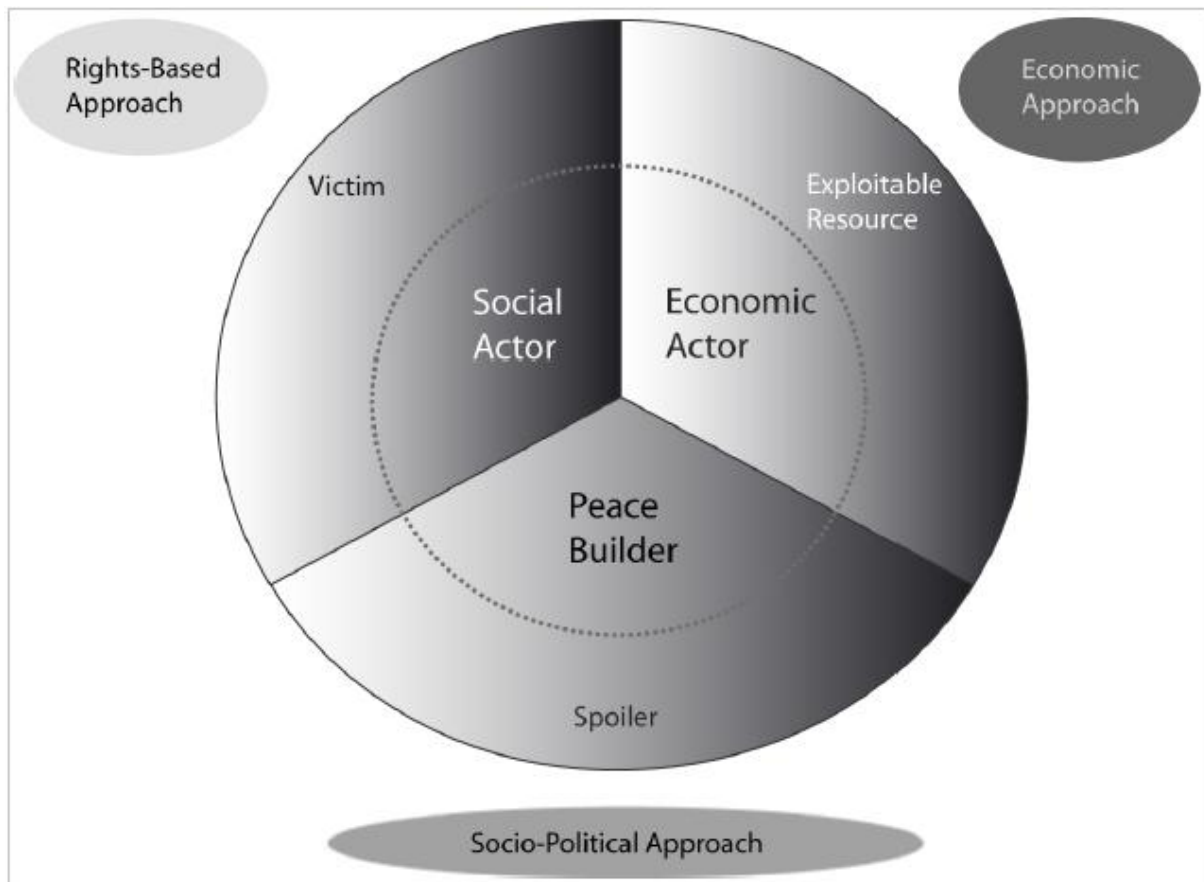
Roles of youth in war-to-peace transitions

There are several perceptions on the roles of youth in crisis situations. The traditional views are to see youth as victims or threats. However, there is a growing body of literature on youth's potential as actors for peace.¹⁷ Victims are often associated with children because they are seen as innocent and they are protected under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Kemper, 2005; McEvoy-Levy, 2006). On the other side, youth are understood to possess some qualities that are specific to them. They are seen as dynamic and open (McEvoy-Levy, 2006). In addition, they are in a period of insecurity, where they are experimenting and trying to reach their independence (Sommers, 2001b; Kemper, 2005). This combination makes them easily subjected to external influence. Their type of influence they are exposed to is therefore crucial for whether youth will become threats or peace builders.

Yvonne Kemper (2005) presents three approaches of international organizations to youth in war-torn societies, which can be discussed in relation to these views. The approaches are three archetypical ways of addressing young people in post-conflict peace building. The rights-based approach focuses on youth as victims, while the economic approach emphasizes the role of youth as threats. Only the socio-political approach has a positive angle for addressing youth, seeing them for their potential as actors in peace building.

¹⁷ See Sommers, 2001 Save; McEvoy-Levy, 2001; Kemper, 2005; Sommers, 2006; McEvoy-Levy, 2006; Danesh, 2008; Schwartz, 2010; INEE, January 2011.

Figure 4.1: ‘Roles of Youth in Post-Conflict Situations’ (Kemper, 2005)



McEvoy-Levy (2001 & 2006) presents the roles of youth during and after war. She argues that youth can be troublemakers both during and after a war, they can also be victims of violence (both direct and structural) during and after a war, and they can act as actors for peace in the aftermath of war. Their roles are not stable, meaning that youth can change roles depending on influence from conflicts in institutions that are important to them, such as the school. As the socio-political approach, McEvoy-Levy (2001 & 2006) also emphasizes how youth can be included as actors for peace, but in the post-accord stage (end of both direct and structural violence).

Schwartz (2010) presents the dual role of youth in post-conflict states. They act as agents of change either for violence or for peace depending on whether their needs are met. The challenge is first and foremost to ensure youth's basic needs. Secondly, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), access to education, employment and skills training are crucial in order to set the conditions for youth to act as agents for peace.

4.1.1 Youth as victims

As already mentioned, victims of war are usually associated with children. First of all, programs following the rights-based approach include only children under the age of 18 since they are protected under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Children are seen as vulnerable and innocent, and therefore, attention is paid on protecting them during conflict (Kemper, 2005; Sommers, 2006). Secondly, when talking about victims of war, there is a tendency that politicians and media refer to children, while they point to youth as threats even though they belong to the same age group (McEvoy-Levy, 2006).

However, since children and youth who have gone through a war often have delayed the normative development toward adulthood, they stay children and youth longer. This means that also older youth can be victims of war. Kemper (2005) points at the negative aspects of following the rights-based approach, such as the neglect of including youth above the age of 18. It overlooks the needs of older youth. Similarly, the victimization of children overlooks their roles in violence promotion or their potential roles as heads of the household after a war (McEvoy-Levy, 2006). Children and youth can take on divergent roles during and after conflict. Therefore, it is crucial not to standardize their roles, but understand that each context and each individual or group identity differ (*ibid.*). Victims are seen as passive agents, but children and youth can change roles depending on the influence they are exposed to. The perception of youth as helpless victims blocks the possibility of seeing them as actors, either for peace or for war (Kemper, 2005).

4.1.2 Youth as threats

Much literature on youth focuses on their roles as active actors of violence. The terminology concerning youth who turn to violence varies in the literature. Some refers to peace spoilers (Kemper, 2005), while others refer to troublemakers (McEvoy-Levy, 2001 & 2006), agents of violence (Schwartz, 2010) or threats (Sommers, 2001b; Kemper, 2005). There are several theories on why youth, especially young men, turn to violence. As already mentioned, youth are both dynamic and insecure, which make them easy targets for external influence. They risk being exploited by people with intentions that are not advantageous for them or for the society they live in (Sommers, 2001b). Theories on young people and conflict diverge. Some see youth as the primary drivers of violence, while others understand conflict as a consequence of state neglect of young people's needs.

Collier and Hoeffler's (2004) greed and grievance models provide a framework for why youth, especially young men, turn to violence. Their study measures four opportunity costs of recruitment to armed groups: male secondary education rate, average income, population growth and income growth. The results of their study evidenced that there is a correlation between the opportunity costs and the occurrence of violence in a society. The greed model is based on the economic theory and looks at how young men are driven by opportunities for income. Education, particularly secondary education for young men, would raise the opportunity costs of joining a rebel group. The grievance model is based on deprivation theory and points to how inequalities in a society can provide a motive for turning to violence. For the youth driven by grievance, the motive for violence is the lack of opportunities such as access to education and the labour market. The two models are often seen in relation to the theory on youth bulges, which states that large youth population in a country with high unemployment rates is a risk to national security. (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004; Kemper, 2005; Urdal, 2009; Smith & Ellison, 2012)

The other perspective in the literature explains youth violence as a reaction of being excluded from political, social and economic development (Kemper, 2005; Schwartz, 2010; Smith & Ellison, 2012). Political elites often limit access to education and employment, and thus exclude the masses (*ibid.*). The consequence could be that the marginalized turn to violence. Youth become actors of violence when they are not given opportunities to work out their potentials (Kemper, 2005; Schwartz, 2010). Sommers (2001b) presents students as the leader's of tomorrow. However, the need to be included in society is critical for the future of youth and their environments.

4.1.3 Youth's potential as peace builders

In the literature about youth in crises, there is an increased focus on recognizing the potential of youth in building peace. Youth are seen as resilient, creative, open, energetic and resourceful (Sommers, 2001b; Kemper, 2005; Danesh, 2008). Because of these qualities, some argue that they are "the likely leaders of successful peacebuilding" and "the primary enablers of social change" (Danesh, 2008). There is a need to change destructive images of youth if they are to be integrated in the community (Kemper, 2005). Danesh (2008) argues for a re-conceptualization of the images on youth in order to see them as actors for peace. The socio-political approach, presented by Kemper (2005), has the objective of changing human

relationships. This demands a shift in the relationship between young people and civil society. Kemper (2005) argues that community members need to appreciate youth as actors, partners, and even as leaders. If youth are empowered to act as peers they can, in turn, affect leaders at the higher levels. Whether youth can become actors for peace depends on whether their needs are taken into account in the reconstruction phase.

Youth need to be provided with access to economic, social and political structures. The socio-political approach to youth in war-to-peace transitions looks at youth's potential in peace building. "There is an inherent assumption in the socio-political argument that youth can and will transfer their war capacities for peace promotion in the reconstruction phase if provided with the opportunities" (Kemper, 2005: 38). Schwartz (2010) argues that the existence of a youth bulge not necessarily means that armed conflict is more likely. If the needs of youth are addressed in a post-conflict situation, they can become important actors in the peace process. She particularly emphasized the need to provide youth with education and employment opportunities.

Shaping young peace builders is not just about providing opportunities. The way in which they are included is of importance. The socio-political approach looks at how peace can be promoted through and by youth. It centers on the voices of young people; their perceptions, ideas and roles, which could reveal root causes of conflict. Giving youth the chance to participate is therefore crucial (Kemper, 2005). McEvoy-Levy (2006) similarly argues for the inclusion of young people's own experiences and identification of problems. In that way, future conflict could be prevented.

Defining peace and peace building

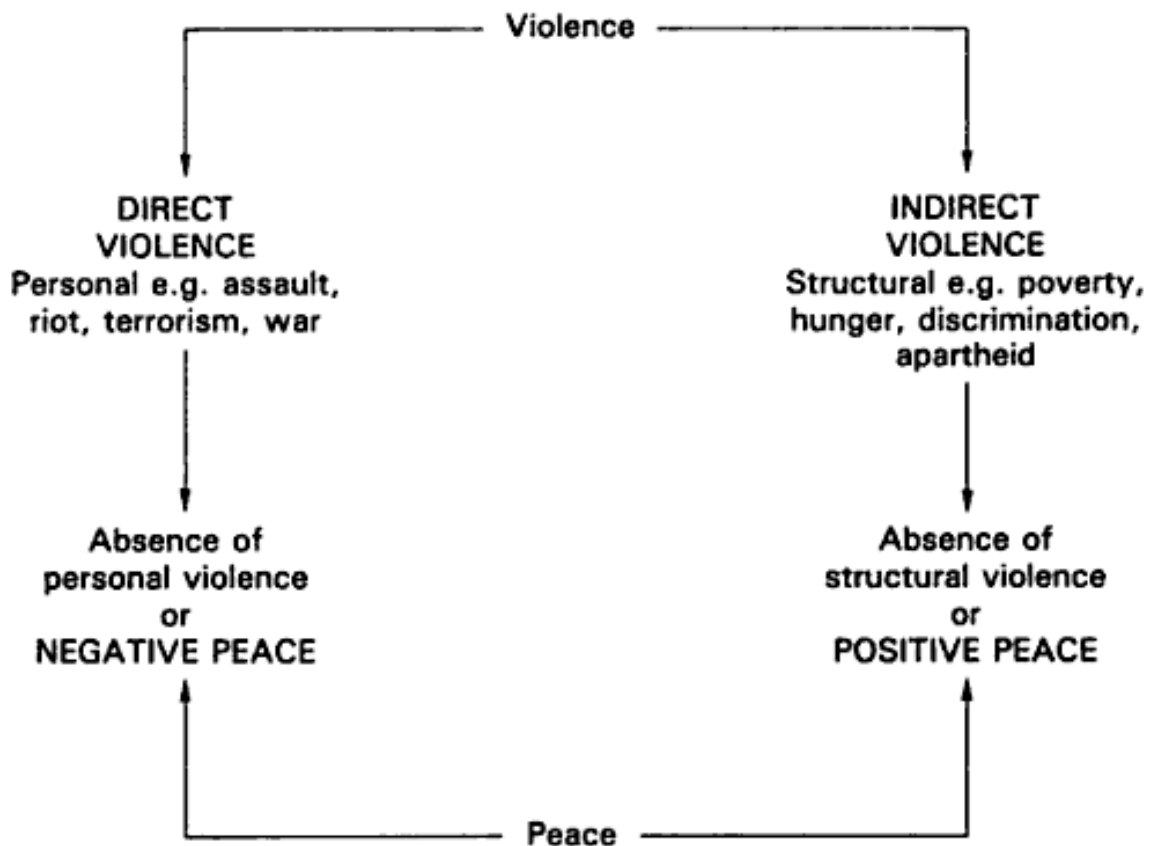
4.1.4 Peace

Definitions of peace in the literature are mostly based on the work of Johan Galtung, who contributed largely to the establishment of peace studies from the 1950s onwards.¹⁸ Galtung (1964) developed two branches of peace research: positive and negative peace. The latter refers to peace as the absence of direct violence, while positive peace is translated into the absence of structural violence. Structural or indirect violence means that inequality is

¹⁸ See for example Cabezudo & Haavelsrud, 2007 and Dupuy, 2008.

produced through political, economic and social structures in society.¹⁹ Hicks (1988) presents the two branches of peace research in the illustration below.

Figure 4.2: ‘Defining Peace’ (Hicks, 1988)



First of all, peace is defined as “the absence/reduction of violence of all kinds” (Galtung, 1996: 9). In addition to direct, armed violence, there are other types of violence that need to be removed or reduced in order for peace to be a reality. Structural violence, which was presented above, is often the trigger that sets off direct violence. Political, economic, social and cultural repression can easily create the foundations for armed violence. “But underneath it all lurks culture; legitimizing some structures and acts, delegitimizing others” (Galtung, 1996: 2). Cultural violence is symbolic. It contains the perceptions and ideologies of a group of people. Political elites may use symbolism to persuade people of what is right and what is wrong. It entails manipulating aspects of the culture. Cultural violence legitimizes structural and direct violence. Thus, in order to avoid direct violence, there is a need to remove both structural and cultural sources of conflict. However, structural violence is in many cases

¹⁹ Initially, when Galtung developed the branches in 1964, positive peace was connected to the integration of human society. He introduced the term structural violence in 1969, which was then seen in relation to the concept of positive peace.

unexplored and cultural violence is often “hidden in the collective subconscious” (Galtung, 1996: 271). Expressed violence may originate from people’s collective subconscious legitimizing that violence. This is how cultural violence turns into structural violence. Beliefs and attitudes are being expressed through people’s behaviours and actions. Sometimes beliefs are so imprinted in people’s mind that they are unaware of them, especially where the presumptions stem from. Cultural violence is used to justify structural and hence direct violence. According to the definition above, peace is what we have when violence of these kinds is reduced or removed.

Secondly, peace is understood as “nonviolent and creative conflict transformation” (Galtung, 1996: 9). In order to make the necessary changes for peace, it requires understanding conflict and violence in a given context. Both violence and conflict stem from human beings, their perceptions and relationships. The same can be said about peace. Peace is seen as a ‘dynamic social construct’ (Lederach, 1997). Several levels of human relationships can be identified: horizontal and vertical, individual to national and even global. Peace is dependent upon the interrelationships between different people and groups of people, in addition to how they address conflict.

4.1.5 Peace building

The term peace building originated in the publication ‘Three approaches to peace: peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding’ written by Galtung in 1976. His definition of peacekeeping can be connected to the concept of negative peace because it is about keeping the status quo by maintaining absence of direct violence. Peacemaking is defined as the ‘conflict resolution approach’ because it entails a focus on removing the causes of conflict. This approach could be coupled with the elimination of structural violence and the realization of positive peace.

Peace building, however, requires something more. A peace building process entails that “structures must be found that remove causes of war and offer alternatives to war in situations where war might occur” (Galtung, 1976: 298). Kemper (2005) shares this definition, but she also highlights the importance of building structures upon indigenous elements: “Rather than rebuilding the pre-war structures that catalyzed war, peace building requires forming a new structure out of existing components of civil society” (Kemper, 2005: 10). Seeing peace

building through context-oriented lenses is crucial (Lederach, 1997; Conteh-Morgan, 2005; Tschirgi, 2011).

Galtung (1976) and Lederach (1997) argue that peace building has a structure. There are permanent features that need to be understood concerning the interrelationship between levels before a peace building process can take place. Galtung (1976: 297) shares a hypothesis: “[...] peace has a structure different from, perhaps over and above, peacekeeping and ad hoc peacemaking”. He argues for the removal of cultural, structural and direct violence. This means that in a peace structure, there should be no exclusion and no discrimination. “Most dangerous is the situation where there are only two actors who get stuck in a one-dimensional conflict over *this* piece of territory, or *that* way of running the organization” (Galtung, 1976: 301). Thus, the inclusion of many actors negotiating a diversity of issues through dialogue would facilitate the process for peace.

Peace building requires an identification of both the visible and the invisible dimensions in society (www.peacebuildinginitiative.org). Thus, it is significant that people think critically of their own beliefs and try to relate them to external contexts. In order to find the less visible conflicts, Lederach (1997) emphasizes the need to search for the sources of conflict at all levels in society; to trace the roots of a small issue throughout the various foundations of society and all the way to the overall system. Conflicts can be found within and between all structures: personality structures, social relationships, institutions, policies, practices, and so forth.

A structure for peace building also entails the inclusion of actors at all societal levels. Lederach (1997) presents a pyramid model to demonstrate the influence that actors at each societal level has on the population. The model highlights the importance of including the grassroots levels in peace building as leaders since this level has a broader scope of influence. While a political elite has no real experience of the effects of their decision-making on the ground, the people at the grassroots level are more likely to have suffered from it (Lederach, 1997; Conteh-Morgan, 2005). “The greatest resource for sustaining peace in the long term is always rooted in the local people and their culture” (Lederach, 1997: 94). In the literature, most seem to acknowledge the importance of bringing in the marginalized as peace builders, for example youth and women (Galtung, 1996; Lederach, 1997; Kemper, 2005; Conteh-Morgan, 2005; Danesh, 2008). In this view, the peace building process should be constructive, transforming conflict from below (Kemper, 2005; Conteh-Morgan, 2005;

Danesh, 2008) or at least with major involvement from the grassroots level (Galtung, 1996; Lederach, 1997).

Finally, peace building is seen as a process (Galtung, 1975 & 1996; Lederach, 1997). Most importantly, changes should be made in the relationships between people. Since conflicts originate from human relationships and people's perceptions of others, human relationships need to be accepted as the basis for conflict resolution (Lederach, 1997; Conteh-Morgan, 2005). "We are oriented toward the building of relationships that in their totality form new patterns, processes, and structures" (Lederach, 1997: 85). The rebuilding of relationships should be based on collectively held new ideas or traditions that existed before the outbreak of war (Conteh-Morgan, 2005). In addition, peace building requires that people change their perceptions of one another (Lederach, 1997; Conteh-Morgan, 2005; Kemper, 2005). Such a change would strengthen the roles of the grassroots level (Kemper, 2005). Lederach (1997) argues that peace building is a 'process-structure' because society consists of systems that maintain some kind of form, but they are not static. Peace building has to be regarded as a never-ending process, since peace is based on human relations, which are constantly developing and transforming (Lederach, 1997).

Peace building education

There are many terms used to describe the concept of what is here referred to as peace building education. Some differentiate between the terms peace education and peace building education (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Dupuy, 2009), while others use the terms peace education or education for peace when they describe education that builds peace (Hicks, 1988; Cabezudo & Haavelsrud, 2007). In order to avoid misinterpretation, I refer to the term peace education as an explicit subject taught in schools or in other institutions. With the term peace building education, I refer to all aspects of education that are needed to build peace. However, peace education as a subject could be part of peace building education. Peace building education should be understood as a broad concept, like peace building. Peace building education is described as "a dimension across the curriculum" (Hicks, 1988). It is a process, which should involve all aspects of education in addition to all types of education: formal, non-formal and informal (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000).

As with the concepts of peace and peace building, there is also a need to address peace building education in relation to violence and conflict. This entails that there are three concepts that should be discussed in relation to one another: education, peace building, and conflict. Bush and Saltarelli (2000) present ‘the two faces of education’, meaning that education can be an important element in peace building, but it can also be an underlying force for violent conflict. Thus, it is crucial to acknowledge and understand both ‘faces’ of education. Dupuy (2008 & 2009) argues that there are four elements that need to be addressed in education because they determine whether we have education for peace or education for conflict. These elements are inclusion to education; type of socialization in school; nature of social relationships; and the benefits of education. The following section will relate these elements to the discussion above on peace building.

4.1.6 Inclusion to education

The first element presented by Dupuy (2008 & 2009) concerns whether there is inclusion to education. Denial of education or uneven distribution of education could have an effect on conflict exacerbation (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). Political elites often limit the provision of schools to certain groups in society in order to maintain their own positions. Throughout history, this practice has repeated itself in many countries, including Burundi. By excluding certain groups from the education system, they will also be excluded from socio-economic development. Since education is increasingly regarded as a social advantage, the exclusion from it could lead to the rise of tensions between groups of people (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). Thus, in order to build peace, those aspects of education that can fuel a conflict need to be removed. In addition, they need to be replaced by aspects that could have a peace building force.

Education needs to be recognized as a right for all children by the political elite, which would facilitate equality and equity in educational access and opportunity (Dupuy, 2008). Inclusion to education necessitates equal access to different types and levels of schooling, equal access to quality education in addition to equitable distribution of educational resources (Dupuy, 2008 & 2009). Once in school, children should be given the same chances of attending and proceeding until a certain level of education has been reached (Dupuy, 2008).

4.1.7 Type of socialization

Dupuy (2008 & 2009) refers to the type of socialization that is prevalent in school. By this she means the kind of values, behaviours and attitudes that are transmitted to students by teachers or through the curriculum, teaching methods, textbooks or educational policies. The educational arena is frequently used as a tool for the political elite to promote their own ideology, a process that could contribute to discriminate other groups' identities. If students are not equally represented in the classroom, they will learn that some are inferior while others are superior (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). The divisions that are created between them through education could have dangerous effects outside of school as well. Discrimination and stereotyping in school can lay the foundations for future conflicts in a society (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Dupuy, 2008).

The way in which the teachers are transmitting knowledge in addition to the content of textbooks and of the curriculum is of crucial importance. The content of teaching often illustrates the world seen from the perspective of one majority group. For example, history books could be manipulated in order to justify the dominance of the majority group (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). Moreover, authoritarian or disciplinary teaching methods that include both physical and verbal punishment would foster feelings of shame and fear, and legitimize the use of violence (Dupuy, 2008). Teaching methods should rather be learner-centred and participatory (Hicks, 1988; Dupuy, 2008). Children are in a formative stage of life where they easily adopt attitudes and behaviours (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). Therefore, teachers acquire a viable role and responsibility to transmit norms that are nurturing unity and mutual understanding. The way in which they socialize with students is crucial. Education should through its teachers, curriculum and teaching methods promote tolerance, mutual understanding and acceptance of differences between groups. In this manner, relationships should be rebuilt between students and between the teachers and the students.

4.1.8 Nature of social relationships

The third element that mediates the interrelationship between education, peace and conflict is referred to as social capital (Dupuy, 2008 & 2009). It concerns the kind of relationships that is prevalent between people in the education system, but also the relationships that they form with people outside of school. As mentioned above, conflicts originate from the way in which

people relate to one another and human relationships should therefore be the foundation for peace building.

Social relationships should be changed in a way that restructures the power balance. Hicks (1988) argues for the need to abolish power relationships when building peace through education. With reference to the structural concerns above (i.e. exclusion and inequality in school, promotion of political ideology), education needs to be formed with the inclusion of actors in education. In addition, it is important to restructure the relationship between schools and the surrounding community in order to regain trust in the education system (Dupuy, 2008). Contextual conditions are important and alternatives to pre-war structures in education should be based on local realities. People who have experienced conflict themselves are the ones who would know how to eliminate it and find alternatives. Thus, peace building education should be a bottom-up process with the inclusion of as many participants as possible to discuss alternatives for education.

In this process, it is crucial that people renew their perceptions of 'the others'. In an ethnic armed conflict, views on other groups were the bases for the outbreak of war in the first place. In a post-conflict stage, the way in which people look at each other would be crucial for the peace building process. Access to education for children and youth could contribute to change people's destructive images of them. Especially youth participation should be acknowledged (Cabezudo & Haavlesrud, 2007; Dupuy, 2008 & 2009). Students should be given the opportunity to participate and make choices that could change their own lives. When provided with this opportunity, young people in school will be empowered to create alternative paths for their personal future, but also for the future of their social environment. When people have restructured their social relationships, perceptions of each other and learned to acknowledge the value of different people, there would be a foundation for fruitful and inclusive discussions on peace building options (Cabezudo & Haavelsrud, 2007). Most importantly, such discussions would lead to commonly, shared ideas on how to build peace.

4.1.9 Benefits of education

Finally, Dupuy (2008 & 2009) presents benefits of education as an element in peace building education. The types of skills that students acquire in school have certain advantages for themselves, but also for the community that they are part of. She refers to both economic benefits for individuals and for society, and to social benefits. Benefits are related to the kind

of education that provides students with hopes for the future. Economic benefits are a product of the skills learned in school that provide young people with an income-generating activity. According to Dupuy (2008), the individual, economic benefits of education would increase the opportunity costs of joining armed conflict, meaning that the possibilities provided through education are considered as better options. As Collier and Hoeffler's (2004) research revealed, increased access to secondary enrolments would make the opportunity costs of engaging in armed conflict higher. Education that provides students with an employment would have positive benefits for themselves, but also for the economic development of society (Dupuy, 2008).

The social benefits of education are concerned with the well-being of people and good social relationships (Dupuy, 2008). In school, students can be empowered to participate in society. Skills for social benefits include awareness raising and critical thinking skills (Cabeduzo & Haavelsrud, 2007; Dupuy, 2008). Schools can provide awareness of contexts external to the local one, so that people can trace the roots of a specific conflict to a certain time, place and level. Such enlightenment could make it easier to develop critical thinking skills, which are necessary to search for causes of violence and conflicts, and transform own reality (Cabeduzo & Haavelsrud, 2007). Awareness raising would equip students with confidence to influence community members and eventually pressure political actors to follow alternative routes for peaceful co-existence (Dupuy, 2008). "Education can provide positive benefits that can build peace – through, for instance, assisting economic development, instilling feelings of hope for the future, building skills for participation, and teaching attitudes and behaviors that promote positive interpersonal and intergroup interactions" (Dupuy, 2008: 80). Thus, both the economic and the social benefits of education, in addition to the type socialization that promote good social relationships can boost the peace building process. These are all benefits of education for peace building.

According to Bush and Saltarelli (2000), education alone cannot be expected to solve an armed conflict based on ethnicity. However, they also argue that the goal of peace building is not to find solutions to conflicts, but to create opportunities. Peace building education is a process that should be attempted to find alternatives to existing conflicts, but also to prevent future conflicts. This entails that it is a long-term process. It is based on social relationships that are constantly changing. People develop and transform structures all the time, and

therefore, one must always look for peace building alternatives when designing and implementing new initiatives.

5 A conceptual framework

The literature review in the previous chapter gave a summary of the main perspectives on the relevant concepts in this research: youth, roles of youth, peace, peace building and peace building education. In addition, it provided an overview of the links made between these concepts. The roles of youth have been related to peace building (e.g. Kemper, 2005), and education has been coupled with peace building (e.g. Dupuy, 2008 & 2009). In order to relate these concepts to the purpose of this research, it is necessary to make one more connection: examine how education shapes the role of youth as peace builders. In order to make this connection, the literature on ‘youth’s potential as peace builders’ (see paragraph 4.2.3) will be coupled with the literature on ‘peace building education’ (see paragraph 4.4).

Empowering the marginalized to participation in the peace building process is considered to be crucial (Galtung, 1996; Lederach, 1997; Kemper, 2005; Conteh-Morgan, 2005; McEvoy-Levy, 2001 & 2006; Cabeduzo & Haavelsrud, 2007; Danesh, 2008; Dupuy, 2008 & 2009). As presented in the literature review, the inclusion of the grassroots level in peace building is essential since it is the masses that have first hand experiences of the war (Lederach, 1997; Conteh-Morgan, 2005). As a result, they would be better prepared to build peace because they would know what root causes of war to address.

Youth’s potential as peace builders

The argumentative stance taken in this study is that youth can be important actors in the peace building process since they possess qualities that are considered essential in this process. The view of youth’s potential in peace building involves acknowledging that they possess certain qualities that are specific to the youth-hood stage. They are seen as resilient, creative, open, energetic, dynamic and resourceful (Sommers, 2001b; Kemper, 2005; McEvoy-Levy, 2006; Danesh, 2008). Such qualities can be important both for themselves and for the society if they are addressed in the right way. They are even seen as the likely leaders of peace building efforts (Danesh, 2008).

However, if the needs of youth are not met, the qualities that they have could be used for conflict promotion instead. As the socio-political approach emphasizes, youth’s potential in peace building can only be nurtured if young people are given the opportunities (Kemper,

2005). The type of opportunities in this research project is centred on access to education and the new opportunities that are provided through education (benefits of education).

Educational inclusion as the basis for peace building

Inclusion to socio-economic opportunities (for instance to education) is regarded as an element in peace building (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Kemper, 2005; Dupuy, 2008 & 2009; Schwartz, 2010), and would reduce structural violence, which is an essential step towards attaining positive peace (Galtung, 1964). As presented in the literature review above, the socio-political approach assumes that “[...] youth can and will transfer their war capacities for peace promotion in the reconstruction phase if provided with the opportunities” (Kemper, 2005: 38). Schwartz (2010) and Kemper (2005) argue for the need to provide youth with socio-economic opportunities if they are to be given the possibility of acting as peace builders. Inclusion to education is presented in the literature as an essential element for peace building (Dupuy, 2008 & 2009).

One of the main issues with education is whether there is access to school. This is necessarily a prerequisite in order to investigate education’s role in peace building. Access to school entails that children enrol, attend and stay in school for a certain amount of time (ibid.). According to the study of Collier and Hoeffler (2004), secondary enrolments increase the opportunity costs of engaging in armed conflict. In Burundi, Uvin’s (2009) research revealed that education pays off after the completion of 10th grade (1st cycle of secondary education). This will not be considered in the framework model, but it provides an interesting aspect for the discussion of the three groups compared in this study.

The benefits of education

In addition to access to education, the type of education provided is crucial as well. As highlighted in the literature review, education can also be a force in inducing a conflict (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, Dupuy, 2008 & 2009). Transforming social relationships and perceptions on others would enhance the peace building process (Lederach, 1997; Kemper, 2005; Conteh-Morgan, 2005; Dupuy, 2008 & 2009). This transformation should be based on the type of socialization in school that promote values to enhance social cohesion (Dupuy, 2008). In

addition, the different sets of skills learned in school could have peace building benefits (Dupuy, 2008 & 2009). “Education can provide positive benefits that can build peace – through, for instance, assisting economic development, instilling feelings of hope for the future, building skills for participation, and teaching attitudes and behaviors that promote positive interpersonal and intergroup interactions” (Dupuy, 2008: 80).

5.1.1 Socialization that creates positive social relationships

During and after a civil war, there is often exclusion between different ethnic groups and/or socio-economic groups. It is important in the aftermath of war that the people in society renew their perception of ‘the other’ (Lederach, 1997; Kemper, 2005; Conteh-Morgan, 2005). Dupuy (2008 & 2009) presented the element of socialization in school. It is important that tolerance and mutual understanding are among the values that are transmitted from school to students, which would limit the promotion of structural and cultural violence such as discrimination, prejudice and stereotyping.

Dupuy (2008 & 2009) also argues that the element of socialization is related to the nature of social relationships. Obtaining values of mutual respect and tolerance means that social relationships are changed and that perceptions on others are transformed. A renewed perception on others would empower the roles of the marginalized in peace building (Kemper, 2005; Cabeduzo & Haavlesrud, 2007; Dupuy, 2008 & 2009).

5.1.2 The benefits of skills for income-generation

The benefits of education were presented by Dupuy (2008 & 2009) as the fourth element that mediate the interrelationship between education, peace, and armed conflict. These benefits were presented as twofold related to the type of skills that students learn in school. There were skills that provide youth with an income-generating activity, and there were skills that have social benefits.

If youth are provided with skills that will help them generate income, they will less likely engage in armed conflict (Dupuy, 2008). It would reduce the likelihood of direct violence. It is important for peace building that education gives youth hopes and possibilities for the future (ibid.). Opportunities for employment would enhance the future prospects for youth. This would have positive benefits for both the individual and the society.

5.1.3 The benefits of skills for social influence

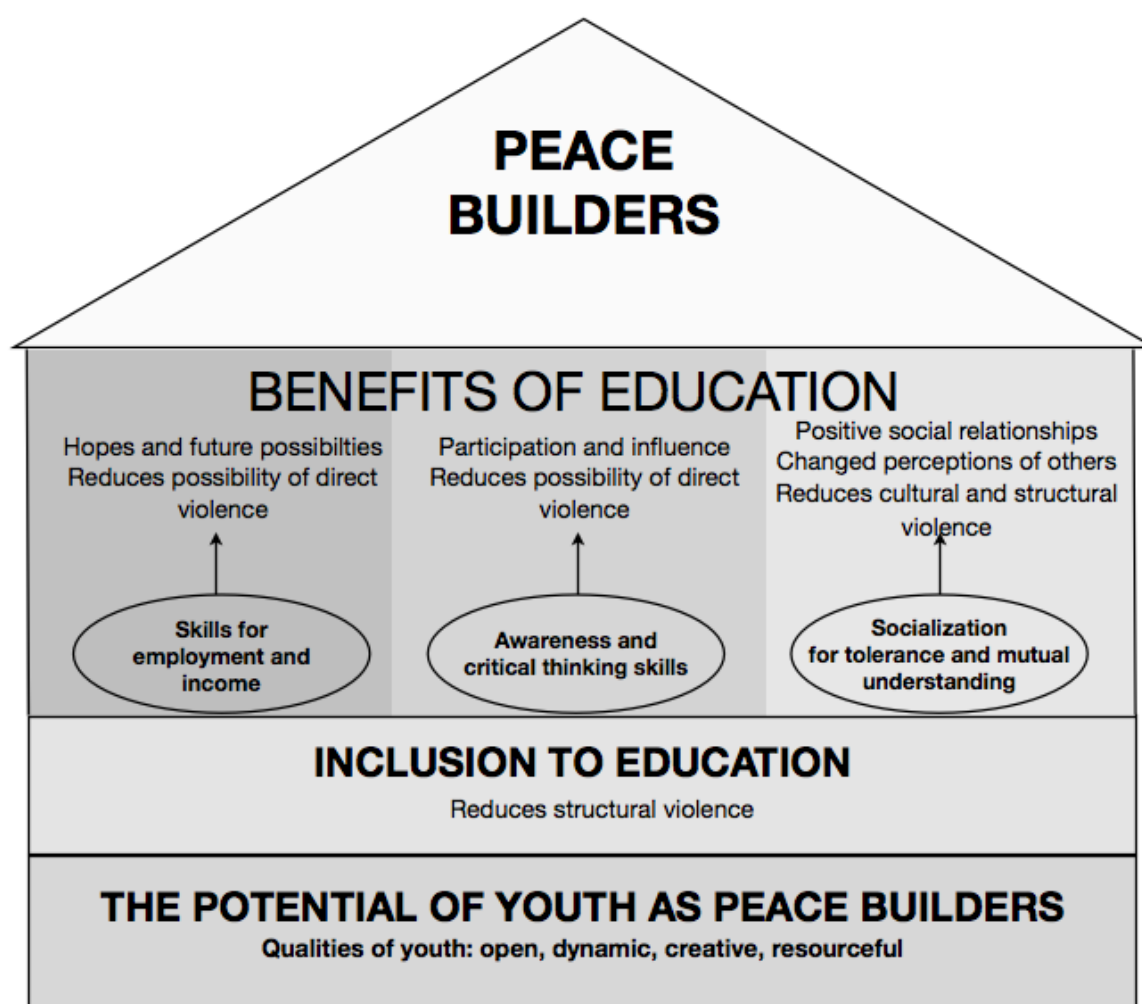
Dupuy (2008 & 2009) presents others skills learned in school that also would benefit society and peace building. Through general awareness raising and by introducing youth to contexts other than their own, they would develop consciousness of their own situation (Dupuy, 2008; Cabeduzo & Haavelsrud, 2007). Furthermore, if the teaching methods were participatory and learner-centred, the students would more easily develop critical-thinking skills (Hicks, 1988; Dupuy, 2008; Cabeduzo & Haavelsrud, 2007). Such skills in combination with awareness and knowledge about the world around them would enhance their ability to make informed decisions (Dupuy, 2008).

Awareness and critical thinking skills would reduce the possibility of youth engaging in armed conflict (Dupuy, 2008). In addition, these skills would provide them with the necessary confidence to influence or even pressure people in the community and eventually leaders (Dupuy, 2008). Through these skills, youth participation would be promoted (Dupuy, 2008). Youth participation is also highlighted in the literature on youth's potential as peace builders. If the voices of youth are heard and if they can shape their own future based on their own experiences, it would have positive benefits for their environments as well (Kemper, 2005; McEvoy-Levy, 2006).

A conceptual framework on educating young peace builders

The model presents the elements discussed above. First of all the qualities of youth are essential concerning the potential that youth have as peace builders. Secondly, inclusion to education is a basis for education to have a role in shaping youth. Thirdly, the type of skills learned in school and the socialization that is prevalent in school can have benefits for society and peace building. If the skills provide an income-generating activity, if the skills make youth think critically about the world around them, and if the type of socialization (values, behaviour and attitudes) promotes tolerance and mutual understanding, education could shape young peace builders.

Figure 5.1: A conceptual framework on educating young peace builders²⁰



²⁰ Figure based on concepts from the literature.

6 Voices of Burundian youth

During the interviews, I asked youth about their life experiences, their thoughts and ideas, and their perceptions about life going on around them. We talked about education, youth-hood, the war, how they perceived peace, issues in society, their own future and the future of their society and country, what they would like to change if they had the power to do so, among other things.

The youth that I interviewed had different educational backgrounds. Since I wanted to examine whether education can play a role in shaping young peace builders, I decided to interview youth with three different levels (and types) of schooling in order to see whether and how their answers would differ. In this chapter, I separate the youth in groups to differentiate between them based on their level of education. Group 1 consists of youth with the least amount of education. They dropped out of primary school after two or five years. Group 2 is composed of youth who have between three and six years of formal schooling completed. In addition, the respondents in this group were or had been in an alternative education centre. Mostly, the alternative education they received was vocational, but four out of five respondents of group 2 also learned life skills and literacy. Finally, group 3 consists of young people who were in upper secondary school at the time of the interviews. They had all completed twelve years of education.

As I read through the interviews, I discovered some tendencies that will be presented below. The responses of the groups will be presented as either crosscutting topics or as tendencies in each group. I have detected six sub-themes from the interviews that will be presented.

Peace

There were no specific distinctions between the groups concerning how they perceived peace. There was a tendency among the respondents to refer to peace as the absence of something painful they had experienced. Most of the issues they talked about were related to the past, the fact that they had grown up in a war. However, some of the issues that they raised were seen as more current. They talked about how they imagine a peaceful society would be like. The first two perceptions presented below were the most frequent answers to the question: what does the word peace mean to you? Almost all of the interviewees envisioned these two

conditions to be a prerequisite for peace. The final idea of peace presented below was indicated by the least educated youth in this study.

6.1.1 Peace as good relations

Having good relations was the most frequent perception of peace in all groups. They talked about the importance of people getting along at different levels of society. Some talked about peace as good relations in the neighbourhood. “It means to have good relations with neighbours, live peacefully with others.” (Eric, group 2). They also talked about peace as good relations between communities: “[...] between one community and another there are good relationships, as in people can travel easily to another commune” (Linda, group 2). A few of them associated good relations with freedom and the possibility of moving around without feeling scared. The ones who talked about people getting along on the ground referred to issues in the past. There was exclusion between ethnic groups and between communities during the war. The social relations were therefore tense. Today, these problems are more or less gone, according to the interviewees. However, at one level, the social relations were not seen as changed. Most of them said that there are disagreements between the government members. This was perceived to be a current issue that is threatening peace. Threats to peace are part of another sub-theme, which will be presented below.

6.1.2 Peace as security / peace as absence of war

Peace as security or as the absence of war was the second most frequent answer among the interviewees concerning the meaning of peace. Similarly to the perception above, the groups had similar ideas about the relations between security and peace. A few of them talked about peace as security. “For me peace is having total security, not expecting someone to come and get in the house to harm you.” (Eric, group 2). However, the majority talked about peace as the absence of something that they had experienced. “Peaceful means there is no killing each other like before.” (Claude, group 1). When stating that peace is the absence of fighting for instance, some referred to experiences that they had from the war. In addition, several of them also linked it to political fighting, assassinations and violence that were seen as prevailing in the Burundian society.

6.1.3 Peace as access to basic needs

There were no other perceptions of peace that were more evident among the respondents than the two presented above. However, peace as access to basic needs was a perception among the least educated youth in the study. Peace was understood as having access to food and other necessary things at home. The lack of such needs would make people want what others have, which would easily make them steal in order to get what they want or need. The ones who got something stolen were perceived as less peaceful because they would then lack basic needs. “It [peace] means also having enough food to eat. If you’re not scared that tomorrow you will not eat, then you cannot go to try and steal, to destroy other people’s peace.” (Eric, group 2). Some of the respondents talked about the issue of jealousy in their environment and that there will always be someone who has less than others, and therefore, be less peaceful.

Threats to peace

The respondents talked about what had changed after the war. Some said that it was peaceful compared to the war years, but this peace was not total. In relation to how they perceived peace, Burundi still had a long way to go. The majority of the interviewees expressed similar thoughts on what had changed for the better and what challenges Burundi still had. Some said that the ethnic exclusion had reduced after the war. At least at the communal level between ordinary people, they said that it was peaceful. The relationships between people were seen as generally good. On a political level, however, they expressed that the relations were not good since there were disagreements and exclusion, which had consequences for ordinary people as well.

There were no disparities between the groups concerning what they described as threats to peace. The most apparent tendencies in all groups will be presented below. Land disputes were understood as the reason why ordinary Burundians would fight. The respondents feared street youth. However, the major issue was related to the political split and the consequences of this, such as exclusion, fighting and assassinations.

6.1.4 Land disputes

During the war, hundreds of thousands of people fled their homes. As a consequence of this migration, there are many conflicts over land in Burundi. Several of the interviewees from all

groups talked about how families are fighting over land after the war. Such fighting could occur between families when someone returns and find their land occupied by others.

There has been a big change because many people have moved and they left their lands. When they came back they find that other people have occupied their lands. So it was difficult for them. There were so many conflicts within the families who took other families' land. (Claudette, group 2).

Two of the respondents in this study had experienced land conflicts themselves. One of them had to move when the family who owned the land their where living in returned after the war. But such fighting could also happen within families. Another respondent experienced a land conflict with his uncle when he returned from a rebel group. As many young people have lost their parents and the number of children per family is generally high, the interviewees talked about fighting between the remaining children over land. They said that in both types of land disputes, it could be necessary to bring in a mediator or to go to court.

6.1.5 Street youth

With a couple of exceptions, all of the youth interviewed talked about youth who misbehave. They said that there are many youth who drink, take drugs, steal, fight and even kill other people. The ones who lived in Bujumbura said that this was particularly an urban issue. But most of the other respondents also talked about this problem in their rural communities. There are different reasons for why youth engage in such activities. Some said that they go through difficulties as a result of the war.

Young people go through many difficulties so they take drugs to try to forget what they are going through. It might be losing their family members during the war so they keep taking drugs to forget what they have seen. Most of them have seen their family members dying in the war. (Innocent, group 1).

In addition to traumatic experiences, the war and poverty in general has also left many young people uneducated and many of them are unemployed. When they have nothing to do, they often turn to crime and self-destructive activities in order to survive. Some said that youth steal in order to get something to eat. The lack of opportunities makes them vulnerable.

It's very difficult to go back to school after so many years, especially when you are old. So there are many friends of mine who are now on street, who are jobless, they don't have anything to do. What they do they find themselves in bad activities like stealing and drinking. And most of them you find even their parents died in the war, so they don't even have homes, they are sleeping on the street. (Dieudonné, group 2).

Another reason why young people turn to violent behavior was associated with the characteristics of youth in general. The respondents stated that youth are in the phase of life where they want to try new things. In addition, since youth do not have any responsibilities such as adults have, they were seen as easily influenced. No matter what makes youth misbehave, several of the ones interviewed expressed that they feared them. They said that the drugs destroy their minds, which makes them capable of harming and even killing other people. Mostly there are young boys who are involved activities like stealing, drinking and taking drugs. Some of them talked about girls who misbehave, but this was more in relation to early pregnancy and school dropout.

6.1.6 Political disagreements

The majority of the respondents in all groups said clearly that the political split is a threat to peace. They said that there are disagreements between the leaders, and between the ruling party and the opposition. According to the youth interviewed, the politicians are not cooperating, they are only quarreling.

Another thing that threatens peace is that the leaders are from different ethnic groups, and they are from different villages. So if they have some misunderstanding or if one thinks that they are going against his rights then they can start up fighting. That also threatens peace. (Eric, group 2).

One of the respondents stated that many people do not dare to engage in politics out of fear. This perception seemed to be mirrored in several of the interviewees who were reluctant to talk politics. Some of them did, however, point towards issues in the government without being too generous with the details. The ones who did share their thoughts on the political problems said that all the assassinations that take place in Burundi today reflect the misunderstandings in the government. According to them, the current political situation is

critical. The respondents identified consequences of this political split for ordinary Burundians, even if they do not engage in politics.

Here in Burundi, we see that the politics of Burundi are becoming very, very difficult because they often tell you that if you're not a member of the ruling party, you will not find work. If they find out that you're not a member of the party in power, the only solution is to kill you. (Angelique, group 3).

The respondents expressed that the political split was violent and had consequences for Burundi's security. "We say peace is total when no one dies because of their parties or no one dies because of their ethnicity." (Angelique, group 3). Even though the war had ended, they talked about people being killed for no reason other than supporting the 'wrong' political party.

Since youth were perceived to be easily influenced, some of the interviewees said that many youth were affected negatively by the leaders. Some of them had seen youth in school for instance who had the same attitudes of political exclusion as the leaders of the country. Even people who did not engage in politics were believed to be influenced since they get affected through the media. They hear the political quarrelling, they hear about exclusion and the same ideas grow in all people. The political separation is mirrored in the population, according to some respondents. Since youth are easily influenced, some even said that they are used as tools in the political battle.

Some were influenced in a bad way because they have been motivated to have this hard heart of doing wrong to the people they are ruling. So if these ones who have been influenced in a bad way are the ones who would be ruling, the things will be the same. (Innocent, group 1).

6.1.7 General violence: Thieves and rebel groups

The political split has led to the creation of new rebel groups. A few of the respondents acknowledged this issue. However, most of them referred to armed groups that operate in Burundi today. There is insecurity involved in what to call these groups. "There are thieves around. Because the thieves carry fighting materials...so they threaten peace. Since they are still unknown that...as in no one talks on their behalf, we call them thieves." (Claudette, group

2). Some talked about thieves and bandits, while others talked about rebel groups. Regardless of what they were called, they are presented as part of the problem of general violence.

The respondents of group 1 and group 2 who talked about this issue referred to incidents or experiences from their own community. One of them had even been injured when thieves attacked her house with grenades. According to the interviewees, these armed groups are involved in assassinations, stealing and plundering of neighbourhoods. It seems to be a problem both in the rural areas and in the city. A couple of the youth of group 3 talked about the general issue of banditry and armed groups, especially in the city.

6.1.8 War can easily start

As presented above, the respondents identified certain threats to peace in Burundi. There were variations in the degree to which these threats were perceived to be real dangers to peace. Even though land disputes and youth who misbehave also were seen as threats to peace, the most eminent threat was perceived to be the current political situation including the corresponding violence.

Several of them talked about the current security situation. If they compared the situation today to the way it used to be, they would say that it is peace today. However, this peace was understood as fragile. Some of them even said that war could easily start. “I can say that it’s more peaceful than before but war can easily start because there are misunderstandings with the government members.” (Delphine, group 1). Others had similar thoughts about the issues in the government. This political split is the reason to which a few of them talked about rebel groups operating in the country. They said that these groups have the objective of starting another war in Burundi.

After the war, luckily there is peace in Burundi, but our peace in Burundi is not total because there are still parties that are against the ruling parties. And these parties that are against, create rebel groups that will cause more wars in the country. And especially in this province of Bujumbura, there are really...we find soldier groups that have the objective of causing another war in Burundi. (Angelique, group 3).

Youth

There were many different perceptions of youth-hood among the participants. It would be difficult to draw a general tendency of their thoughts about it. However, most of them talked about the same set of qualities or characteristics that they saw in youth. They were seen as active, open and easily influenced. These characteristics could be positive or negative depending on the influence they are subjected to.

6.1.9 Youth as active

The interviewees in all three groups talked about youth as active and open. Normally, they thought that these qualities were positive since it means that youth contribute in society with their strength and effectiveness. They tended to refer to young men both when they talked about how youth contribute as active citizens and when they talked about how some youth contribute more in promoting conflict.

The youth, they are the ones who have to take charge in the development of the society because they are the most active. Well, but there are...there are other youth who don't see things like that, but who will give even more effort to destroy the society. Yes, but in general, the youth have to assure the...the strength and the development of their society. (Yves, group 3).

6.1.10 Youth as easily influenced

Particularly, youth were seen as easily influenced. This could be both negative and positive depending on the type of influence they are exposed to. Youth-hood was perceived as a stage in life when people do not think of the future, but instead they want to try out things. They said that this was because young people normally do not have a plan for the future since they do not need to take care of a family. The characteristic of youth as easily influenced was a determining factor for why they believed many of them turn to crime and self-destructive activities.

As I said before, it's the youth that is used to make peace and to destroy it. If they need army, they call for youth people. If they need people to join the rebel group, they call

for youth. So these are the people who go with everything. They go with everything that is calling for them. (Claude, group 1).

Peace promoters

The groups responded differently about who they perceived to be peace promoters. Although there was one exception in a couple of the groups, the most eminent opinion in each group will be presented. Their answers will give an indication on whether they think that peace can be built or at least promoted from below or from above.

6.1.11 Group 1: Leaders should promote peace

Half of the respondents of group 1 left the task of peace promotion to the leaders of the country. Although they acknowledged that the leaders are actually promoting war, they said that they should be the ones who take the first initiative in promoting peace because the rest of the population would always follow their guidance.

There are the people that are ruling that must make a first step in promoting peace because the lower citizens always believe what the leaders tell them. So if they make their aim to promote peace also the lower citizen will follow. (Innocent).

Another youth in this group also thought that peace promotion comes from above, as he thought that God was the only one who could promote peace. Similarly to the perceptions above, it implies to leave the responsibility of peace promotion to higher powers and that people will follow.

As for themselves, they claimed to be living peacefully with the people around them. Since they are poor and live from day to day, they expressed that they cannot get into conflict with people. If people do wrong to them, all they can do is accept it and forgive them in order to survive. They cannot live without the help of others.

Finally, one of them talked more about the role of youth in peace promotion. Youth are destroying peace if they join the army or rebel groups. In this way, they are influenced by leaders when it comes to peace destruction. However, if they oppose such recruitment, they would be promoting peace by living peacefully with their neighbours. The perception of youth as peace promoters was especially a tendency of group 2.

6.1.12 **Group 2: Peace is promoted by people in the neighbourhood**

Except one person in this group who believed that Jesus promotes peace, the other respondents said that the ones who promote peace are the community members. Among these people in the community, youth were seen as the most important peace promoters. There are several reasons why they perceived young people to be the most important contributors in peace promotion. Some thought that they would promote peace as long as they were not influenced by the leaders. “Usually they [youth] are more peacemakers than peace destroyers because even when they try to destroy what they have, is when they are influenced by the leaders who are ruling today. It’s not their initial. They are influenced.” (Claudette). Others believed that the qualities of youth as active people make them more capable of engaging in their environment. The question would be whether they were included or not.

Mostly they [who promote peace] are young people, because as you know, young people they are the most active people. So if they are not included, then anything can be done. So these young people are the ones who are contributing more in promoting peace. Because when young people are spoiled, you know the whole country is spoiled. (Linda).

They talked about inclusion and the role of education in different ways. They talked about the importance of providing youth with something meaningful to do, especially by creating more technical schools in order to keep out-of-school youth off the street. Such an initiative would be a first step in promoting peace. One person talked about the important role that educated youth play in peace promotion. People who have been to public school have more knowledge and another understanding on how to live together and on how to develop.

Those who have finished [school], it’s very difficult to influence them because for them they already have a plan for the future; they are seeing their future. These ones who finished, they can influence, they can motivate those who are in school to continue, meaning they have a big influence. (Dieudonné).

The roles of parents and teachers in peace promotion were also brought up. For example that they should treat all young people equal. One of them talked about how youth could promote peace by getting together in groups and sharing ideas on peace. She also expressed how she could promote peace on her own. “I can help like I can try to make them understand the

importance of peace among people. I can help to make them feel the same way I feel about peace.” (Linda).

Especially the ones who had experienced the war thought that youth would lead the country otherwise in the future. They would not want to repeat the mistakes made in the past.

“Because of what we have experienced in the past years, we will not wish there to be war again. We will try to keep peace. If for real they [youth] have experienced what has happened, they have learned a lesson.” (Claudette).

6.1.13 Group 3: Everyone should promote peace

Two of the three interviewees of group 3 responded in a general manner. They said that everyone has the right to promote peace or that everyone promotes peace except the ones who promote conflict. “Normally, peace is promoted by each person in society. If there are persons who don’t promote this peace, they are the ones who will create movements that will trouble this peace in society.” (Yves).

One respondent of this group had many specific ideas on how to build peace. She highlighted the importance of being together and sharing ideas in order to know what everyone thinks and to find a common path for peace. She stated that she would advise people to follow this direction if she had the chance.

I think the only issue is to be together. Because if we are together, it would be better to solve the problems that are in the country. We will try to share power, and then also invite the Burundian people to be in peace, to be together to better build our country.
(Angelique).

She gave several examples of how peace can be built from below. Being together and sharing ideas could support the building of peace from a communal level all the way to the highest political levels. Even students in school could find their own method for building peace.

For example here in school, if us students, we get together and then we create for example a youth group that likes to exchange ideas about peace. And then, these ideas that we have put together, we will distribute them to others who are superior to us.
(Angelique).

All three respondents acknowledged the value of education for peace promotion. One of them gave an example of how teachers play a vital role in that they could teach the students right from wrong. The most important aspect was that educated youth become intellectual and that they can bring in their ideas on how to develop the country. This aspect will be elaborated in the sub-theme ‘the importance of education’ below.

Access to education

When talking about access to school, there were clear similarities between two of the groups, but one of the groups had an entirely different view. The respondents of the two groups with least amount of formal education thought that it was difficult to access and to stay in school for a number of reasons. They indicated several obstacles to education that they had faced, which will be presented below. The respondents of group 3 did not experience the same difficulties as the others. They thought that it had been easy to access school. Since two of the groups had many similar issues to raise, their perceptions will be presented together. In addition to talking about their own experiences, all of the groups expressed what they perceived to be the general situation for access to education in Burundi.

6.1.14 Groups 1 & 2: Education interrupted due to war

The interviewees of group 1 and group 2 experienced the war up close.²¹ All of them had to run away during the war. They expressed how the war was tough in their communities. Most of these youth talked about what made them scared during the war. The fear of death was the main issue. They saw other people getting killed, even family members. They were afraid that they also would get killed. “Because we were chased after. They wanted to kill us, so we were spending the nights in the bush and that was very scary.” (Delphine, group 1). Several of them also said that their fears were intensified by the noise of guns all over. All the youth of group 1 and group 2 were forced to flee during the war. They expressed this in different ways, such

²¹ The first person interviewed from group 1 and the first person interviewed from group 2 did not mention the war. However, there is reason to believe that the war also affected them. At least they have faced difficulties growing up since one of them is orphan and the other left school at age 12 because of hunger and started providing for himself. I base my findings in this sub-theme on the other seven participants who did say something about the war.

as Delphine above or by the fact that they spent years in refuge in Tanzania or that they are returnees. Many of them talked about the difficulties they faced when running away, especially that access to basic needs were scarce. Hunger and having nowhere to sleep were major challenges to them during the war.

During the war it was very difficult because we could run away in the morning and when we come back we found our houses have been burned. So we couldn't have even somewhere to sleep. Especially hunger was the most difficult thing because everyone was not having food. We were starving. (Innocent, group 1).

The war had consequences for their education. Both during the war and after the war, access to education has been difficult for them. Not all of the respondents blamed the war directly for them dropping out of school. However, based on the information they gave me, it seems reasonable to assume that several of them left school at the time they fled or returned. Some states directly that they faced problems upon return from Tanzania, for example because the language of instruction was different.

I had run away before I started school, as in we moved away because of the war and there I started from primary one until secondary one. And when I came back, it was in 2008, and I could not follow up with the program of French because we never studied French before in Tanzania. (Francine, group 2).

The war had consequences for their education in many ways. One of the girls interviewed dropped out of school when returnees came and took their land back. Without land to cultivate, they were starving and she had to leave school. Some of them also talk about their friends and how the war affected them similarly. Many fled during the war and dropped out of school as a consequence. “Most of them left because of the war. They ran away and they stopped school.” (Eric, group 2). They have friends who found themselves in a difficult situation after the war: as orphans living on the street, being too old to return to school and instead getting involved in crime and violent behaviour.

6.1.15 Groups 1 & 2: Multiple obstacles to education

In addition to the direct and indirect consequences of war on access to education, there are other reasons why education is difficult for the respondents of group 1 and group 2. These

reasons could be linked to the war or intensified by the war. However, the respondents did not imply this themselves. The main obstacle to education for them was poverty. There are consequences of being poor, which not only means that it is hard to pay for school fees and materials, but also hunger and then anger becomes a decisive factor for dropping out of school.

I couldn't make it because at first I went to school they were asking for 1500 for books each year. We needed uniform. At home, when I got back, I needed food. You know as a child if you've spent a whole day at school and you haven't eaten anything, when you go back, you want to eat something like others, and you find there is nothing, you get angry, so I went with the anger and left school. That's when I decided to go look for money. (Aristide, group 1).

Several of the other youth interviewed had similar stories. Some of the respondents lost one or both of their parents when they were little and it was therefore difficult for them to go to school since no one could pay for them.

Now it is not easy. It's not very easy because most of them drop out because they cannot afford. The same thing happened to me. But if they can get someone who can pay for them, they study hard because they have now realized, they have already realized how difficult it is. So they study hard if they get someone to pay for them. (Innocent, group 1).

Others had learning difficulties, such as Claudette (group 2) and some of her friends: "They had the same problem like me. They were not understanding what they were taught." She spent 16 years on finishing primary school. Repetition is normal among all of the respondents, but the others have mostly repeated grades about one to three times. An issue with repeating grades is that they get older in relation to their fellow classmates. According to the ones who had learning difficulties and/or were older than the other students, they felt ashamed and the younger students were mocking them. They wanted to continue school, but they had lost motivation.

Some issues were brought up by only a few of the respondents, but they highlight that there are multiple obstacles to education. A couple of the respondents had to drop out of school

after being betrayed and abandoned by their family or friends. A few of the interviewees talked about girls they knew who had to leave school because of marriage and pregnancy.

The respondents of groups 1 and 2 all had various responsibilities at home. They were expected to help out at home with household activities or with cultivating. If they were working and earning money, they were responsible for paying the school fees for their siblings. Some of them said that their parents expected them to go to school so that they could help their family out of poverty.

Before I quitted, they were expecting me to continue and finish school, and maybe be something...becoming someone important that can help them out to get out of poverty.

But now they are not expecting much because they know I'm not making a lot of money and all they are requiring of me is to help each out in everyday activities.

(Claude, group 1).

6.1.16 Group 3: Easy to access school

The most educated youth had another viewpoint of how to describe access to school. They had continued formal school and at the time of the interviews they were in upper secondary school. It seemed like they had not faced any problems as the respondents of groups 1 and 2. They had easily accessed and continued school. "It was easy because concerning the organization in our country; every child at age seven has to be enrolled in primary school, in first grade. The parents only have to register their children. They ask for nothing else." (Yves).

The respondents of group 3 did not mention any experiences from the war. It seemed like they all had been privileged to continue school during the war years. Their families had sufficient means to send them to school. Some said that they were too small to remember anything and that the war happened elsewhere. "During the war years here in Burundi, I don't remember well, I was little. The war wasn't hard compared to others." (Angelique).

They recognized the importance of their parents who wanted them to get educated and who had the means to send them to school. For example Diane said: "Without help from my parents it's not possible." They also talked about expectations from their parents and about responsibilities in the family. Their parents wanted their children to continue their education

as much as possible. Since they all went to boarding schools they did not have much responsibilities at home. Their parents expected them to go to school in order to prepare their own future. “My parents, I like them a lot because they tell me: go, you will study. I only have to study in my life. They don’t tell me: cultivate for us, or: study for us. They say: study only for yourself.” (Angelique).

However, when I asked them to identify problems that others might face concerning access to school, they did admit that not all children and youth were as lucky as themselves. The issues they talked about include poverty, early marriages, pregnancy, not understanding the importance of education, preferring to earn money or cultivate, and failing the state exam.

The importance of education

All of the interviewees recognized the value of having an education. When I asked them to identify the most important aspects of education, the groups responded differently. The elements they talked about as important in education can to a certain degree be seen in relation to their own level and type of education. The most prominent elements will be presented in relation to the responses of each group. The youth of group 1 talked mostly about how they thought that education would have benefited them if they had been given the possibility to continue school. Their answers were based on how they perceived people in the neighborhood who had gotten a diploma and a job. The interviewees of group 2 talked about how the alternative education centre had profited them and how they were positive towards the future because of the skills they had obtained. The respondents of group 3 emphasized the importance of continuing education and getting a diploma in order to become intellectual and make a change in society. While the respondents of group 2 had hopes and plans for the future, the respondents of group 1 and 3 were more insecure of their future. Group 1 said that they had limited or no hopes for the future. Group 3 was uncertain of whether their education would lead to an employment.

6.1.17 Group 1: Basic skills would award good jobs and lives

Literacy and numeracy was characterized by the youth of group 1 as the most important aspects of education. They claimed that such skills would make people able to get better jobs. For instance, one of them dropped out of school before he learned how to count, and today

there are certain jobs that he cannot take. Therefore, he is destined to continue hard work in order to earn a living. The other interviewees in this group had learned these basic skills. They talked about the possibilities people can get from education. “You get to learn how to read and write. And if you learn that in school, you even get the knowledge of how it will be useful to you.” (Innocent). They did not mention any other type of skills that could be valuable to learn in school, probably because they did not know how it could be useful for them.

The youth of group 1 said that education leads to a job. “Educated people can earn a good income and have a good life with it.” (Delphine). They thought that if they could enhance their literacy and numeracy skills, they would be able to get a better job. They observed educated people around them who dressed well, worked and provided for their families. If they compared these educated people’s lives with their own situation, they thought that they were in a difficult place and that education was the reason why they had not developed like others.

6.1.18 Group 2: Vocational training gave hopes

The respondents of group 2 also acknowledged the importance of literacy, numeracy and getting a job, but most of them had more to add on the value of education. The YEP-students talked about important life skills they had learned, such as gender equality and conflict resolution. The interviewee who did not participate in YEP responded similarly to group 1. The other youth seemed to be appreciating all the parts of the YEP-course: literacy and numeracy, life skills and vocational training.

The importance of this is that I will not depend on my husband all the time. I will keep knowing in my mind that even if my husband has mistreated me, I know I can do something on my own to earn a living. (Linda).

The youth of group 2 said that they can generate income and get a better life with the vocational skills they learned. Two of the YEP-students had already finished the program and they had a job. They talked about how they planned to expand their business. The others, including the student at the vocational training centre, believed they would get a job once they finished their studies. Before they joined YEP, most of them were cultivating. They all believed that their lives were better than the ones who did not have an education. They did not only hope, but they knew how their future would look like. “Before I was so scared, I could

think of many things, what will I relate to tomorrow, how would I survive, cause I'm not doing anything. But now I know that I have some skills I can survive without others."

(Linda). They did not only have dreams of the future, but specific plans about how to pursue their goals of getting a job and an income. However, the possibility of getting a job was dependent upon whether they received the necessary materials. Even if they had learned a vocational skill in addition to entrepreneurial skills, they said that they would not get anywhere without materials to work with.

We are looking forward to what YEP will do to us in the end because usually they give out something to start up your own business. Like if we get enough materials to start up with then I can make a good income because even those who are repairing bicycles only they are making some money in this area. So for us it will be a good advantage because we will be making also motorcycles. (Eric).

Although they all thought that their vocational skills would help them find a job, a couple of the respondents of group 2 also talked about people in the neighborhood who did not find work. One of them talked about the high rate of unemployment in the country. Although, he perceived education to be an important factor in finding a job, he had many friends who finished upper secondary school and were unemployed. The other one talked about street youth with nothing to do and the importance of providing education for this critical group.

Technical school should be increased because there are many young people who are on the street now, who have not been able to attend [school] like other young people. So if they are to promote peace or other stuff you've talked about, conflict resolutions, then you have to start with these people and find how you can involve them in these technical schools. (Dieudonné).

In addition to the value of getting vocational skills, the YEP-students also talked about important life skills they had obtained. They had learned to solve conflicts through dialogue or by bringing in someone trustworthy to interfere. They also said that they learned to care for one another, by being together and by saving people in need. The young girls, especially, talked about how they learned about equality between men and women. They wanted to make this a reality for themselves. The young boys also appreciated learning about equality between different people, whether it was between genders or tribes. They learned to live together and

respect all people, no matter their identity or background. In this way, education also benefited the social relationships for the YEP-students.

The teachers have tried to explain to us that there is no reason of like excluding each other, you are all people, as in no need of considering the tribe stuff. Just know that you are all from Adam and Eve, from the beginning, and you should treat each other like brother and sister. So with time we got to love each other. (Dieudonné).

Two of the YEP-students had a couple of ideas on the importance of education, which were more similar to the thoughts of group 3. One of them said that it is important to achieve something more than primary education in today's society. Another one said that educated people see far, they understand problems, and as a result, they are better prepared to find solutions to problems. In addition, they help society develop by bringing in their ideas.

6.1.19 Group 3: Get a degree and become intellectual

The most educated youth in this research said that education is especially important in today's society. They talked about literacy as basic knowledge that you cannot be without in a society that evolves. Education was also mentioned as a prerequisite for getting a job. However, they talked about the need to achieve something more than just basic education. They expressed other important aspects of education that were not evident in the other groups. For these youth, education is not only about finding a job.

The importance...it's that you raise you capacity. For example, you raise your intellectual capacity. Yes, in our times, you really have to go very far, not stop here like that only here in the secondary cycle. You have to go to school and universities. (Diane).

They talked about how youth should strive for getting a higher degree at the university. The importance of this is that they would become intellectual and they would become more capable of contributing to benefit the society as a whole. They talked about educated youth as sources for change. These youth influence children to continue school. They can help people around them because they understand more about life and society than uneducated people. For example if an adult has a problem, these educated youth are better equipped than anyone else to find solutions.

Because I have already been to school, I think that I'm intelligent, I'm also functional, I see how life in the country goes by, how life is difficult or easy. But a person who has never been to school say: I only cultivate, I eat and then I sleep, that's life. But I have already been to school, I have to build so that my country also will be a country of peace and of happiness. (Angelique).

Because we endure that the youth of Burundi today, we are tomorrow's Burundi. That's why a young person in Burundi study and study until they give him a high quality diploma. He will also change the others who are behind who try to make it. And then, it's these youth who will lead the country in the future. (Angelique).

6.1.20 Groups 1 & 3: Insecurity related to own future

The groups responded differently concerning their own future. As presented above, the youth of group 2 already felt that the vocational training had benefited them. On the other side, the respondents of group 1 and group 3 had more negative images of their future.

The least educated youth in this study had few expectations to their own future. Most of them laid their future in the hands of God because he was the only one who could change something for them. The one girl who was part of this group had one image of her future and that was to be a mother. She did not see herself having another job than caring for her family if she got one. The young boys talked about getting money in order to develop like others. However, they did not see how it would be possible because they were working hard and nothing ever changed. Their future depended deeply on whether they would get enough money to improve their situation.

I don't see any images in five years to come. Because not going to school has been a very bad luck for me. I don't even have the dream for five years because I know I cannot change it anyway. Even if I get money I don't know how to plan for the future, how to use it, because I didn't go to school. (Aristide, group 1).

The lack of an education was one of their greatest misfortunes for the youth of group 1. When I asked whether they would like to go back to school or get vocational training, they told me that they wanted to but they did not see how it would be possible for them.

The youth of group 3 were more sceptical of whether education leads to a job. They said that there are not enough jobs in Burundi. The unemployment rates are high. However, without education and without a diploma the possibilities would be close to zero. For them, it was crucial to pass the final state exam in upper secondary school in order to have an opportunity of finding a job.

Without the state exam, it's not easy. If you fail, it's serious. You will search for a job. If they give you this job, it's good. If you lack it, you wait. Yes, you wait. If you are capable, you retake it, return and redo the state exam. By chance, you can pass it.
(Diane, group 3).

Even if they would manage to pass the state exam and finish their studies, their future would be uncertain. Since the unemployment rates are high, they cannot know for sure that they would find work. One of them talked about the difficulties facing educated youth who search for a job after their studies: "So to find work, it's not at all normal that they can teach you in what you will put into practice." (Yves, group 3).

As the youth of group 2, the most educated youth also had plans for the future. Their plans were to go to the university. However, these plans were more uncertain. As already presented above, they understand the risks of ending up unemployed. Their future depends on whether they pass the state exam. "The possibilities...it depends. For example if I fail the state exam, I try for the tenth time to pass the exam and still I fail, I can change by searching for something else to do." (Diane, group 3). Their future also depended on whether they would get into the university, and in that case, what they would end up studying.

7 Discussion and conclusions

The argumentative stance taken in this study is that youth have the potential of acting as peace builders since they possess necessary qualities. However, it depends on whether they are given opportunities to socio-economic development. In this study, the importance of educational opportunities in relation to youth as peace builders is examined.

This chapter seeks answers to the two research questions:

- *What is the potential of youth as peace builders?*
- *To what degree does education contribute in shaping young peace builders?*

The purpose of the first research question is to find out how youth themselves perceive the purpose of youth as peace builders. The answers to this question will provide a point of departure for answering the second, and main, research question. The findings presented in chapter 6 will be discussed in relation to the literature (chapter 4) and the conceptual framework (chapter 5). Before answering the research questions, the interviewees' perceptions of peace and threats to peace will be linked to the literature on peace and peace building.

Perceptions of peace and threats to peace

Before looking into the roles of youth and that of education, it is necessary to understand how youth perceive peace. What is peace to them? And how do they think that this peace can be achieved? Their perceptions of peace will provide a framework for their roles in the peace process that is in coherence with grassroots peace building: the voices of the marginalized.

7.1.1 Youth's perceptions of peace

The youth interviewed identified three main ideas of peace, which can be discussed in relation to both positive and negative peace definitions. Their perceptions of peace will be related to their roles as potential peace builders discussed below. All in all, the perceptions of peace that the respondents expressed can be seen as the absence of cultural, structural and direct violence.

One of the perceptions identified by the respondents was peace as security or as the absence of war. This perception can be related to the term negative peace, which comprehends the absence of direct violence. However, a negative peace is a fragile peace since structural and cultural violence may still be present.

Another main perception among the interviewees was to understand peace as good relations. This image of peace can be seen in relation to the concept of positive peace, because it implies the absence of structural violence such as discrimination and exclusion. This type of violence can also be traced to people's perceptions of one another, meaning that it is imprinted in people's mind that there are differences between groups of people, and thus, they should be treated differently. In this manner, it can be linked to cultural violence, which legitimizes the other more visible types of violence. This means that human relationships need to be rebuilt and that people need to reaffirm their perceptions of one another.

However, there was one perception of peace that was not shared by everyone. Access to basic needs was perceived to a prerequisite for peace by the least educated youth interviewed. These youth also came from difficult socio-economic backgrounds, which might explain why they perceived peace to be access to basic needs. This perception of peace entails the absence of structural violence such as hunger, poverty and social injustice.

7.1.2 Youth's perceptions of threats to peace

When expressing their ideas on peace, the respondents also pointed towards several challenges that Burundi faces in reaching that peace. According to the interviewees, the peace in Burundi is not total. There seemed to be a general agreement among the interviewees that the current conflicts or issues in Burundi today are consequences of the problems at the political level. For example, one of the youth interviewed said that students were excluding each other in school since they belonged to different political parties. Several of them said that even though people are not politically active, the notions of exclusion that the politicians constantly promote would take root in ordinary Burundians as well.

As presented in the literature review, causes of direct violence can be traced back to structural violence (Galtung, 1996). The interviewees stated that security had improved after the war, but there were still people being killed for political reasons, which made the youth feel unsafe. Political assassinations were seen as a result of disagreements between the

government and the opposition. They referred to rebel groups operating in the country, ready to start a new war.

There were generally perceived to be good relations between people in communities and between communities, although there could be land disputes disturbing the normality. The tradition of impunity and the lack of a developed legal system to handle all these cases is a challenge for peace at the community level. Often, the people involved take matters into their own hands. In addition, poverty and high prices on basic needs force many people to steal in order to survive, which were seen as another threat to peace between people in communities. A third issue at the community level was the high number of youth who are out-of-school, unemployed, often orphans, war-affected, and on drugs. The respondents looked at these youth as a source of instability in their neighborhoods.

As the young interviewees expressed themselves, the politicians are promoting war. The youth interviewed stated that the political split is the main source of conflict today. The issues with the government were seen as a threat to the future peace of Burundi. Some perceived the politically active youth as threats because they believed that there would be no changes when today's youth are in power of the nation. They will continue to exclude others from socio-economic development, and from political participation and cooperation. In this manner, they will continue to promote structural violence. However, some of the interviewees said that most youth see what the politicians are doing wrong, and that they would not make the same mistakes in the future. The challenge to find a way to include youth that can make them capable of pressuring political leaders to make the necessary changes for peace. In this study, the role of education in shaping young peace builders has been examined.

The potential for peace building from below

The point of departure for the conceptual framework is that peace can be promoted from below, by youth. The role that youth can play in the peace building process was presented as particularly important since they possess qualities that are seen as essential in this process. Their potential as peace builders is also dependent upon the roles that they ascribe themselves. Therefore, I asked the youth who they believed were promoting peace in society. Below, the first research question will be answered: What is the potential of youth as peace builders?

7.1.3 The qualities of youth

As the conceptual framework suggested, youth have the potential of being peace builders because they have the necessary qualities. They are dynamic, open and resourceful. These qualities can be of advantage for peace building if the needs of youth are met. If not, their qualities can turn to advantage conflict promotion instead.

The interviewees regarded youth as active and open. In addition, they said that youth are easily influenced since they normally do not have any responsibility or plans for the future. The qualities and characteristics of youth make them easy targets for external influence. Thus, the type of influence they are subjected to is crucial for whether they take upon roles as peace builders or conflict promoters. In the conceptual framework, their qualities are seen as a point of departure for their potential role as peace builders.

7.1.4 Youth's perceptions of peace builders

There were different perceptions between the groups concerning who they thought of as peace builders²². Some of them thought that peace is built from above, while others thought that peace is built from below. Three out of four respondents of group 1 did not ascribe themselves a role in peace building. Half of the respondents stated that peace building should come from above, from the leaders of the country. Although, they stated at the same time that the leaders are promoting war. One of them said that youth could build peace without referring to himself.

The respondents of group 2 and 3 said that peace should be built from below. The majority of the respondents of group 2 emphasized the role of the people in the neighborhood, especially the role of youth, in peace building. The three interviewees of group 3 believed that all people should be included as peace builders. A couple of them gave specific examples of how peace could be built from below by getting together, discussing to get a common idea that could be transferred to higher levels in society.

²² During the interviews, I used the term peace promoter or peace promotion, since it can be difficult to differentiate between the various concepts, such as peace building and peace making, in everyday language. However, the perceptions of the interviewees on peace promoters will be related to the term peace builders in this discussion.

The responses of the groups show that they believe youth have the potential to be peace builders since they have the necessary qualities. Since youth are easily influenced, the way in which they are affected by their environments is crucial to which role they acquire. The respondents of group 1 did not see that youth could play a role in peace building. The responses of the two other groups underline that youth have the potential of acting as peace builders. The role of education in shaping peace builders will be discussed below.

Education that shapes peace builders

This paragraph seeks answers to the main research question: To what degree does education contribute in shaping young peace builders? In order to be able to answer this question, parts of the findings will be linked to the conceptual framework presented in figure 5.1.

First of all, the importance that the interviewees associated with education will be compared with the benefits of education presented in figure 5.1. The benefits of education for peace building will be discussed first in order to identify the roles of the groups as peace builders. When their roles are identified, inclusion to education as the basis for peace building can then be discussed. Thus, the second discussion below looks at the level and type of education of the groups in order to determine the importance of education in shaping young peace builders. Throughout the discussion, the three groups of youth are presented separately in relation to figure 5.1.

7.1.5 The benefits of skills and values obtained in school

Figure 5.1 presented sets of skills that should be taught in school and the type of socialization that should be prevalent in school. First of all, it is important that the skills learned in school assist students in finding employment. Secondly, critical thinking skills and awareness raising are seen as important for the ability of students to take informed decisions, which would enhance their possibilities for participation and influence. Thirdly, the type of socialization in school should change social relationships and perceptions on others based on values of tolerance and mutual understanding.

The respondents of group 1 did not indicate any benefits of education in relation to figure 5.1, which is not surprising as they all dropped out of primary school. First of all, they have limited or no hopes for their own future. They know a few basic skills, but not sufficient to

take jobs that will increase their wellbeing. Each day is a struggle for survival. They are doing manual labor and are working hard all day. They saw no possibilities for improving their situation. Secondly, since they did left the task of peace building to the leaders of the country, they do not see how they themselves can influence others and participate in the peace building process. Thirdly, they said that they do not get into conflict with anyone since they are dependent upon good relations with others in order to survive. However, since they work hard and see limited possibilities for the future, the opportunity costs for engaging in armed conflict would be lower for this group (see Dupuy, 2008). Thus, the good relations that they claimed to have with colleagues and neighbors could easily be destroyed if other opportunities were offered to them.

The youth of group 2 emphasized several benefits of alternative education, especially of vocational training. First of all, they had hopes for the future since they had learned skills that they thought would help them find an employment. A couple of the YEP-participants had already found work that provided them with an income. In addition, they have specific plans for their future about how to expand their business for example. Since they have hopes and possibilities for the future, the likelihood of them engaging in armed conflict is reduced. Secondly, the ones who have had life skills training referred to the benefits of learning about mutual respect and understanding. They talked about the exclusion that existed between the youth at the beginning of the training, and that they learned to respect one another during the classes. This was particularly the case concerning ethnic differentiation, which was described as the reason for the outbreak of the war. Limitation of exclusion and discrimination between groups means that both structural and cultural violence is reduced, which could have a peace building force. Finally, the majority of these youth emphasized the role of youth as peace builders. However, only one of them talked about own role. While they could restate some of the content from the life skills training, they did not remember all that they had learned. Nonetheless, the benefits seem to include hopes and possibilities, in addition to improved social relationships, which are presented in figure 5.1.

The interviewees of group 3 expressed particularly the benefits that education has on society. First of all, they highlighted that it was important to study for a long time and obtain a high degree, and become intellectual. In that way, they thought that youth could contribute and make a difference in society. They talked about the importance of understanding how society works, and the importance of development. Several of the youth in all groups emphasized the

role that educated youth play in society. Since educated people normally have a plan for the future, they are less influenced by negative environments. In addition, educated youth are influential in the sense that other people will listen to them since they have much awareness. From the findings, it seems as if the youth of group 3 inhabit skills related to figure 5.1 such as critical thinking and awareness. Therefore, they are more prone to influence others. These skills would reduce the possibility of them engaging in armed conflict, since they have the ability of making informed decisions. They ascribed the role of peace builders to all people. Especially one of them had specific thoughts on how people could build peace from below. Inclusion, openness, sharing ideas, arriving at a common objective, and pressure from below was described as the path towards peace. Secondly, they did not have any specific plans for the future because they know that it is difficult to pass the exams in school and to find an employment. However, they hoped to continue their studies to the university. Finally, they did not express anything particular concerning the final benefit of education: socialization that promotes positive relationships. They claimed to be getting along well. However, one of the interviewees stated that there are youth in school who are influenced by the leaders of the country and promote exclusion between students. If these youth benefit from education in the same way as the youth of group 3, it would entail that they have the opportunity to promote structural and cultural violence in society. However, the findings do not support any conclusions on this issue.

According to figure 5.1, the youth of group 1 do not have a role in building peace, as they also expressed themselves. The two other groups have acquired skills in school, which benefit society as well, although in different ways. The youth of groups 2 and 3 have different roles as peace builders based on their educational background.

7.1.6 Inclusion to education as the basis for peace building

The roles of the three groups in building peace have been presented above. Their roles as peace builders are different. The youth of group 2 and 3 have obtained skills and/or values in school that make them act as peace builders. On the other side, the youth of group 1 have not benefited from education in any similar way since they had to drop out early of school.

The interviewees referred to a group of youth who was seen as a security risk in their communities. There are many out-of-school and unemployed street youth, especially young men, in Burundi. The interviewees said that these youth are affected by drugs and alcohol and

that they often are involved in crime and fights. The street youth were perceived to be heavily affected by the war. They said that these youth take drugs in order to forget the traumatic incidents they experienced during the war. In addition, they have not been provided opportunities for socio-economic development. Since they have nothing to do, the interviewees said that street youth often turn to drugs and violent behavior. They can be understood as victims of structural violence, and as a result, they are perpetrators of direct violence.

Similarly to the street youth, the respondents of group 1 are out-of-school. They have completed between 2 and 5 years of primary school. They stated themselves that they have limited benefits of the few years they spent in primary school. They can also be regarded as victims of structural violence since they are excluded from socio-economic development. In contrast to the street youth, the respondents of group 1 have an employment. Their employment holds their lives together since it makes them work hard and maintain good relations with others. Since the youth of group 1 have no clear role neither in peace building nor in conflict promotion, they can be seen as victims. Victims are often associated with children, as presented in the literature. However, since the period of youth-hood is expanded as a result of the war, older youth above the age of 18 can be seen as victims as well. The victims are affected by war and they dropped out of school early. They are seen as passive citizens, since they do not have much influence on others.

The youth of group 2 have completed between three and six years of primary school. As the out-of-school youth, these youth also experienced the war up close. However, they are fortunate to have accessed an alternative education center for youth. One year of education, with a particular focus on vocational skills, have made these youth become optimistic towards their own future. If this training has a focus on promoting social cohesion as well, the youth can, in turn, promote values of inclusion and mutual respect in their societies. Based on the benefits of their alternative education, the youth of group 2 have a role in peace building.

The socio-political approach assumes that: “[...] youth can and will transfer their war capacities for peace promotion in the reconstruction phase if provided with the opportunities” (Kemper, 2005: 38). According to the differences between the street youth and groups 1 and 2, this assumption seems to be correct. They were all affected by the war. The difference between these three groups of youth is the level to which they are included in socio-economic development.

The interviewees of group 3 have completed 12 years of formal schooling. They continued education throughout the war years and they study in boarding schools. They have an influence on others since they have broad knowledge and awareness. As with the youth of group 2, these youth also have a role in peace building. However, since they have benefited differently from education, their roles as peace builders are different.

Concluding remarks

By comparing three groups of youth based on their educational background, this study has shown that there are differences in the degree to which they act as peace builders. Education does play a role in peace building, and in shaping young peace builders. Since perceptions from below are crucial to include in the peace building process, the answers to the research questions are based solely on the voices of Burundian youth, which represent the findings.

This study has evidenced that the potential of youth as peace builders is present in post-conflict Burundi, since they do possess the necessary qualities that are needed in peace building. Youth are seen as active and open. This corresponds with the literature on the youth's potential as peace builders (Sommers, 2001b; Kemper, 2005; Danesh, 2008), represented as the point of departure for the conceptual framework. However, there are differences regarding the potential that youth ascribe themselves as peace builders. The out-of-school youth thinks that peace building should come from above, from the leaders of the country. The more educated youth acknowledged that they themselves could play a role in peace building.

This study has also shown that education contribute in shaping young peace builders. There were differences and similarities between all three groups. Group 2 and group 3 have in common that they have roles in peace building. Since they have been included to either formal secondary education or alternative education, they have benefited from it in a way that will benefit society as well. However, they have benefited from education in different ways, and therefore, their roles as peace builders are different. While the ones who had studied in an alternative education center were positive towards the future and had learned to respect one another, the youth who studied in secondary school were concerned about the importance of becoming intellectual and take part in the development of society.

Access to education or to socio-economic opportunities in general has proven to be significant for the roles that youth take in the aftermath of war. There were similarities between group 1 and group 2 because they had experienced the war up close and they came from poor households, which made access to school difficult for them. However, group 2 accessed an alternative education center. Access to education is the one element that differentiates these two groups of youth. In the discussion above, the youth of group 2 were presented as peace builders, while the youth of group 1 were referred to as victims without any role in neither peace building nor in conflict promotion. The interviewees talked about another group of youth referred to as out-of-school and unemployed street youth. Based on the perceptions of the interviewees, the street youth can be seen as victims of war and structural violence, but they are promoting direct violence since they were frequently involved in fights. It seems as if the main element that separates group 1 and the street youth is that the former have an employment.

The findings are consistent with the existing literature on youth as peace builders and on peace building education. However, there are limitations in the literature concerning how different levels and types of education shape the roles of youth as peace builders. This study did not examine the influence of other factors other than that of education. In addition, it focused particularly on the roles that youth have as peace builders. Parts of the findings indicated that there are other factors as well that could have significance in shaping the roles of youth in the aftermath of war.

Considerations for future research

There are a few issues that could provide the basis of future research on the topic of the roles of youth in a war-to-peace transition. This study focused on the perceptions of youth on their own roles in peace building. Initially, the plan was to interview community members in addition to youth. The images that other people have on youth are presented in the literature as crucial to the way in which the roles of youth are shaped. Concerning the limited size of this research project, this intention had to be left out. The images of other actors could be equally important, such as the way that international agencies and the government respond to the needs of youth.

During the data collection, the interviewees had a tendency to refer to young men as both actors of violence and as the most important actors in development and for peace. It seemed that young women was perceived to be more passive. Since the gender aspect in relation to the roles of youth for peace and for violence was not the initial purpose of this research, I did not focus on getting an elaboration on these perceptions. However, in a country with as divided gender roles as Burundi, it would be relevant to look into the differences (or similarities) between the roles of young women and young men for both peace and for violence.

I had planned to conduct interviews with out-of-school street youth, but for security reasons this came to be difficult. Since the interviewees shared many thoughts about street youth, they were included in the discussion above. However, for future research, it would be important to include the perceptions of the street youth as well. They were perceived to be actors for violence. For the purpose of peace building, it would be significant to find out how they perceive peace and threats to peace, and in addition, identify their needs.

There was one issue that was raised in some of the interviews. The current political situation was perceived by the interviewees as dangerous. Some of them expressed that youth are influenced by the politicians and will continue to promote exclusion when they are leading the country one day. One of the interviewees stated this is an issue among youth in secondary school. It would be crucial to look at how these politically active youth are influenced and why they are different from their classmates. If there are, in fact, many educated youth who promote structural violence by excluding and discriminating others, they would probably have an influence on people since they are educated.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

This interview guide was developed before the very first interview, which was conducted with a YEP-participant.

Interview Guide: group 2

Face-sheet:

Age of participant:

Gender:

Type/degree of education:

Occupation:

Guiding questions:

- What does it mean to be a youth?
- Would you describe yourself as a youth? Why?
- Do other people you know see you as a youth? How?

- Who is the most important person to influence you?
- Why do you think that this person has an influence on you?
- How does this person affect you? How about your teacher?

- Was it easy for you to get into the YEP-program? Why?
- How did you get into the program? Who helped you?
- What about your friends, are they in a program or in school?
- How did they manage to get into school?
- Do you know someone who wanted to go to school but never managed?
- Why do you think it was difficult for this person?

- How do you like going to the YEP-centre?
 - How do you feel when you are at the YEP-centre compared to at home?
 - What do you do at home?
 - What did you do before you started on the program?
 - How are the students treated by the teacher in your class?
 - If someone misbehaves in class, what does the teacher do then?
 - Is the student punished for behaving badly? In what way?
 - Who misbehaves?
 - What does this person do wrong?
-
- What are the characteristics of a good teacher?
 - Which of these characteristics does your teacher have?
 - Do you respect your teacher? Why?
 - Does your teacher respect you and the other students? How?
 - How does the teacher respond to bullying in your class?
 - Why are some students being bullied?
 - Why are the others bullying?
 - What do you do if you see a person being bullied?
-
- How do you react if you see a fight?
 - How do other students react?
 - How would you solve a conflict you have with a friend?
 - Where did you learn to solve a conflict in that way?
-
- How does the teacher teach a class?
 - How do you like this teaching?

- How do you learn best?
 - If you don't like the teaching, what could you do to change it?
 - How do the students cooperate in groups?
 - How do you like working in groups?
-
- Could you describe in short a normal day at the YEP-centre?
 - What does the teacher do?
 - How about the students?
 - How do the students get along in your class?
 - What characterizes the relationships between the students?
 - Are there any of your fellow students you dislike? Why?
 - Do you tell them or show them? How?
-
- Besides normal lessons, what other activities do you have at the YEP-centre?
 - How do you like this?
 - How do your fellow students find it?
 - How are the students getting along in these activities?
 - What do you learn from these activities?
-
- Have you had any courses in school such as peace education, conflict resolution, human rights and similar topics?
 - Which classes have you had that were not normal classes?
 - How important has that been?
 - What do you think was good about peace education?
 - What did you do in those classes?
 - What did you learn?

- How do you use the skills and knowledge you learned?
 - How did the student interact with each other during these classes?
 - How was it different from normal classes?
 - Do you think it is important to know about human rights? Why?
-
- What are your favourite subjects in the YEP-program?
 - How are these subjects important to you outside of the program?
 - How are these subjects important for your future?
-
- What do you want to do after obtaining your certification?
 - What do you want to work with when you have finished your studies?
 - How will the knowledge and skills you learned at the YEP-centre help you find a job?
-
- How important is it for you to be able to read and write?
 - Do you read and write when you are not at the YEP-centre?
-
- If anything could be changed at the YEP-centre, what would you want to be changed? Why?
 - Do you think anything is missing in the YEP-centre, in that case what?
-
- What are your responsibilities?
 - How do you like your responsibilities?
 - Who says that these are your responsibilities?
-
- What does the word peace mean to you?
 - Who is promoting peace in your society?

- If somebody says or does something that you think is wrong, how do you react?
 - Can you think of an incident where you reacted to something you thought was wrong?
 - What did you do and think?
 - What did the other person do then?
 - Why did you react in this way?
-
- If you could influence someone with your thoughts and actions, who would that be?
 - What would you want to change with this person? Why?
 - Do you think you could influence this person in the way you describe? Why?

Appendix 2

This interview guide was slightly adjusted to the original one after having conducted a couple of interviews. This guide is also developed according to the background of youth in upper secondary school (group 3). (Translation: next appendix).

Guide d'entretien : group 3

Face-sheet:

L'âge de participant(e) :

Sexe :

Type / niveau de l'éducation :

Emploi :

Questions :

- Est-ce que c'était facile pour toi de t'inscrire à l'école ? Pourquoi ?
- Tu as eu l'aide de qui ?
- Est-ce qu'il y a des frais d'école ?
- Est-ce que tes amis vont à l'école ?
- Tu connais quelqu'un qui veut aller à l'école mais qui n'a jamais réussi ?
- Pourquoi tu penses que c'était difficile pour cette personne ?
- Qu'est-ce que tu penses du système éducatif, est-ce que c'est difficile pour les jeunes de s'inscrire à l'école ?

- Qu'est-ce que ça veut dire pour toi d'aller à l'école ?
- Est-ce que tu penses que tu pouvais avoir les mêmes possibilités sans ton éducation ? Pourquoi ?

- Qu'est-ce que tu fais à la maison ?

- Tu as des responsabilités à la maison ?
- Est-ce que tu vas à l'école tous les jours ? Pourquoi ?
- Est-ce que les autres étudiants vont à l'école tous les jours ? Pourquoi ?
- Tu connais quelqu'un qui a abandonné l'école ?
- Pourquoi ils sont quittés l'école ?
- Comment est-ce que les étudiants sont traités par le professeur ?
- Si quelqu'un se conduit mal en classe, qu'est qu'il fait le professeur ?
- Est-ce que les étudiants sont punis pour s'être mal conduit ? Comment ?
- Qui se conduit mal ?
- Qu'est-ce que cette personne fait de mal ?
- Est-ce que le professeur respect les étudiants ? Comment ?
- Est-ce que tu respect le professeur ? Pourquoi ?
- Qu'est-ce qu'il fait le professeur si un étudiant est tracassé par un autre ? Pourquoi il/elle est tracassé(e) ?
- Comment tu réagis si tu vois une personne qui est tracassée ?
- Comment tu réagis si tu vois une bataille ?
- Comment est-ce que les autres étudiants réagissent ?
- Comment est-ce que tu résous un conflit avec un ami ? Tu as un exemple ?
- Comment est-ce que tu as appris de résoudre un conflit dans cette manière ?
- Qu'est-ce que tu penses de l'enseignement à l'école ?
- Quels types d'enseignement est-ce que vous avez en classe ?
- Comment est-ce que les étudiants s'entendent quand vous travaillez en groupe ?

- Comment est-ce que les étudiants s'entendent en classe ?
- À part des cours normaux, quelles activités est-ce que vous avez à l'école ?
- Comment est-ce que les étudiants s'entendent pendant ces activités ?
- Qu'est-ce que vous apprenez de ces activités ?
- Est-ce que vous avez eu un cours de l'éducation à la paix ?
- Qu'est-ce que tu as appris de ce cours ?
- Comment est-ce que ce cours a été enseigné ?
- Est-ce que vous avez un cours de la résolution des conflits ?
- Qu'est-ce que tu as appris de ce cours ?
- Comment est-ce que ce cours a été enseigné ?
- Est-ce que tu connais les droits de l'homme ?
- Vous avez eu un cours des droits de l'homme à l'école ?
- Qu'est-ce que tu as appris sur les droits ?
- Est-ce que ces droits sont respectés ? Par qui ? Comment ?
- Quels sont tes sujets favoris à l'école ?
- Comment est-ce que ces sujets sont importants pour ton avenir ?
- Qu'est-ce que tu voudrais faire après la remise des diplômes ?
- Quel type d'emploi est-ce que tu espères obtenir après les études ?
- Comment est-ce que la connaissance et la compétence que tu as obtenues à l'école vont t'aider à trouver de travail ?
- Tu penses que c'est important savoir lire et écrire ? Pourquoi ?
- Est-ce que tu lis et écris quand tu n'es pas à l'école ?

- Si quelque chose pouvait se changer dans ton école, qu'est-ce que tu désires comme changement ? Pourquoi ?
- Est-ce qu'il y a quelque chose qui te manque à l'école ? Quoi ?
- Qu'est-ce que ça veut dire d'être jeune ?
- Quelles sont les caractéristiques des jeunes ?
- Quelles sont les rôles des jeunes dans ta société ?
- Est-ce que tu penses que tu es jeune ? Pourquoi ?
- Qui a la plus grande possibilité d'influencer des autres ? Pourquoi ?
- Quelle est la personne la plus importante de t'influencer ?
- Pourquoi tu penses que cette personne a une influence sur toi ?
- Comment est-ce que cette personne t'inspire ?
- Tu penses que tu peux influencer quelqu'un ? Comment ?
- Qu'est-ce que signifie le mot, paix, pour toi ?
- Qui encourage de la paix dans ta société ?

Appendix 3

Translation of appendix 2.

Interview guide: group 3

Face-sheet:

Age:

Gender:

Education level and type:

Occupation:

Guiding questions:

- Was it easy for you to access school? Why?
- Who helped you? Are there school fees?
- Do your friends go to school?
- Do you know someone who wanted to go to school but never managed?
- Why do you think it was difficult for this person?
- What do you think of the education system, is it difficult for youth to access school?

- What does it mean to you going to school?
- Do you think that you would have the same possibilities without your education? Why?
- What do you do at home?
- Do you have responsibilities at home?

- Do you go to school every day? Why?
 - Do the other students go to school every day? Why?
 - Do you know someone who has left school?
 - Why did they leave school?
-
- How are the students treated by the teacher?
 - If someone misbehaves in class, what does the teacher do?
 - Are the students punished for misbehaving? How?
 - Who misbehaves?
 - What did this person do wrong?
-
- Does the teacher respect the students? How?
 - Do you respect the teacher? Why?
-
- What does the teacher do if a student is bullied?
 - Why is he / she bullied?
 - How to you react if you see a person being bullied?
 - How to you react if you see a fight?
 - How do the other students react?
 - How do you solve a conflict with a friend? Do you have an example?
 - How did you learn to solve a conflict like that?
-
- What do you think of the teaching in school?
 - What type of teaching do you have in class?
 - How do the students get along when working in groups?
 - How do the students get along in class?

- Apart from regular classes, what activities do you have in school?
 - How do the students get along in these activities?
 - What do you learn from these activities?
-
- Have you had a peace education class?
 - What did you learn in this class?
 - How was this class taught?
 - Have you had a conflict resolution class?
 - What did you learn from this class?
 - How was this class taught?
 - Have you had a class on human rights?
 - What did you learn about your rights?
 - Are these rights respected? By who? How?
-
- What are your favourite subjects in school?
 - How are these subjects important for your future?
 - What would you like to do after obtaining your diploma?
 - What type of job do you hope to obtain after the studies?
 - How will the knowledge and the competence that you have obtained in school help you find work?
-
- Do you think it is important to know how to read and write? Why?
 - Do you read and write when you are not in school?
-
- If you could change something in your school, what would you like to change? Why?
 - Are anything missing in school? What?

- What does it mean to be youth?
 - What are the characteristics of youth?
 - What are the roles of youth in your society?
 - Do you think that you are youth? Why?
-
- Who has the greatest influence on others? Why?
 - Who is the most important person to influence you?
 - Why do you think that this person has an influence on you?
 - Do you think that you can influence someone? How?
-
- What does the word peace mean to you?
 - Who promotes peace in your society?

Appendix 4

This interview guide was adjusted to the original one towards the end of the fieldwork after my experience of asking certain questions and in relation to the background of out-of-school youth (group 1).

Interview guide: group 1

Face-sheet:

Age:

Gender:

Education level & type:

Occupation:

Guiding questions:

- How old were you when you started primary school?
- How were you able to attend school?

- What did you learn in school?
- Did you learn to read, write and calculate?
- How is this important?

- How was the relationship between the teacher and the pupils in your school?
- How was the relationship between the pupils?
- Was the pupil ever punished for behaving badly?

- What did they do wrong?
 - How were they punished?
-
- Were your friends able to continue going to school?
 - Do you know someone who dropped out?
 - Why did they drop out?
 - Why did you drop out of school?
 - What could be changed in the education system if you were in charge?
 - Was it your own choice to drop out of school?
 - What did your parents think of it?
 - What did your parents expect from you?
 - What do you feel that society expects from you?
-
- What do you see as important with education?
 - Do you believe that education provides opportunities?
 - Why, which opportunities?
 - Would you like to continue education or get some kind of training?
 - What would you like to do?
-
- Can you tell me what you did after you dropped out of school?
 - Was it easy to get a job?
 - What kind of jobs did you have?
-
- Who are the youth in your society?
 - What defines the transition from youth-hood to adulthood?
 - What are the roles of young people?

- What are their qualities?
- Which people were important to you growing up?
- Did you live with your parents?
- Who did you spend time with?
- Who were your friends?
- What did you and your friends do together?
- Who were your role models?
- How did they inspire you?
- How did you experience the war?
- What did you do during the war?
- What problems were there in your community during the war?
- How is this like today?
- What has changed after the war in your community?
- What made you scared during the war?
- What scares you today?
- How do you react if you see people fighting?
- How would you solve a conflict you have with a friend?
- Where did you learn to solve a conflict in this way?
- What are the roles of young men in your society?
- What about young women?
- Who are in charge of the household?
- Which responsibilities do men have in the household?
- Which responsibilities do women have in the household?

- How does the word peace mean to you?
 - Who is promoting peace in your society?
 - What threatens peace?
 - How can peace be retained?
 - How can peace be promoted?
-
- Youth are the next leaders of the nation:
 - What do you think will change when the next generation is in power?
 - If you got the power to change something in your community tomorrow, what would be the first thing you would change?
-
- What are your hopes for the future?
 - What do you see yourself doing in five years?